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The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834

By Hosea Ballou Morse, LL.D. 4 vols. xxii + 313 pages, 5 illustrations, 2 maps; viii + 451 pages, 2 illustrations, 2 maps; viii + 398 pages, 6 illustrations, 1 plan; viii + 427 pages, 6 illustrations. Octavo. Cloth. $25.00 a set.

So little is known of the history of the East India Company in China as compared with its more famous record in India, that Dr. Morse has done a real service in preparing these four volumes. His account begins with December 6, 1635, the day on which Charles I became a stockholder in the Courteen Association, a company that was openly organized to infringe the East India Company's monopoly of the Oriental trade and that was absorbed by the older company a few years afterwards; it ends in 1833, when the charter of the East India Company was abrogated. Within this span of two centuries Dr. Morse unfolds a story of absorbing interest both for the broader sweep of the economic and political matters touched upon and also for the sidelights upon the progress of civilization. A glance at the detailed index reveals such topics as American trade with China, chinaware, Chinese language, ginseng, Grand Chop, Hong merchants, kotow, nankeens, opium, piracy, rice, sandalwood, silk, supercargo, tea, and wrecks. The *London Times* of March 16, 1926, says, "It is impossible to do justice to Dr. Morse's work in the space of a short review; but the reader will find it a mine of exact and well-documented information."

The Chronicles of the EAST INDIA COMPANY trading to China 1635–1834

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H.M.S. *CENTURION*, 60 Guns, 1743

The Chronicles of the

EAST INDIA COMPANY

trading to CHINA

1635–1834

By HOSEA BALLOU MORSE, LL.D.
Author of *The Currency of China*, *The Gilds of China*
The Trade and Administration of China
The International Relations of the Chinese Empire

VOL. I

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Morse, Hosea Ballou, 1855-1934.

The chronicles of the East India company, trading to

Printed in England
At the OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
By John Johnson
Printer to the University

TO THE MEMORY OF

EDWARD B. DREW

WITH GRATEFUL RECOLLECTION

OF OUR FRIENDSHIP OF FIFTY YEARS

PREFATORY NOTE

The preparation of this work has been made possible by the liberality of the India Office in giving me access to all of the Honourable East India Company's records relating to China which survive. It is much to be regretted that there are several missing years in these records, which must have been at the disposal of Mr. Peter Auber, writing in 1834, but which since that date have disappeared. One gap, from 1705 to 1711, covers the period in which was carried into effect the union between the old (the London) and the new (the English) Company; during these years there can be no doubt that there were events recorded of some importance. In the middle of the century there are a few years missing—1743-4, 1748, 1752—but for those years some information has been obtained from the Letter Books, which have been preserved to April, 1753, containing the instructions and observations of the Court of Directors to all stations, including China. Then there is a gap of twenty-one years, from 1754 to 1774, *hiatus valde deflendus*, in which there remain neither ship's diaries, nor Council's consultations, nor Court's directions. During this period the two most significant events, in their effect on the China trade, were the Seven Years' War and the North American Acts—the Stamp Act and the Tea tax. By the first the French power in the Indian Peninsula was shaken, and French merchant ships became lawful prize of war to the British navy; as a result French trade was temporarily driven from the Eastern seas. The second led to American Independence and the introduction of one strong rival, of kindred blood and spirit, in the place of the French, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish competitors, who had formerly challenged the supremacy of the English Company, but, with the outbreak of the war with France, in 1793, disappeared from the scene.

From 1775 the records are complete, and continue so to the abrogation of the Company's charter in 1833. Up to the break

in 1754 the records consist of the diaries kept by the supercargoes of the individual ships for the information of the Court of Directors; these are meagre, and give little of that economic and naval history which we have come to prize above all other facts; but meagre as they are, they give us vignettes of early transoceanic trading which are of great value. In 1775 the Company's affairs in China are under a Council of supercargoes, with a Chief who is *primus inter pares*, but who may on occasion be saved only by his casting vote from being outvoted; this Council remains in China from year to year, and has a continuing policy and continuous records. The Council is superseded, temporarily in 1779, and permanently in 1786, by the Select Committee. This consisted at first of six, and afterwards more commonly of three, of the seniors among the supercargoes, who were relieved of much of the routine work and left free to superintend the execution of the Court's orders. During these years the Canton records are quite complete, and in them we have a graphic representation of the doings of the Company's agents in China. From these records every fact has been extracted which could be of economic value to the student of the commercial history of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The reader will find few references to other works. English books on the trade of England cover too much ground, and are not really helpful on the trade to and from China; consultation of French and Dutch works on the trade of those countries would take more time than I have at my disposal; and the American trade has not yet been fully worked out, though Mr. Latourette's paper [1] shows that the material exists in the United States. The scope of this work is exactly indicated by its title, and I have given, generally speaking, such facts concerning the English trade as are recorded in the Company's chronicles preserved in the India Office, and such facts only concerning the trade under the American, French, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, and other flags as have note taken of them in the records of the English Company. For the statements,

[1] *History of Early Relations between the United States and China*, 1784–1844. By K. S. Latourette. Transactions of Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1917.

except where otherwise noted, my authority is in all cases the diary or consultation for the ship or the year concerned.

I have spoken of the English Trade. It was literally English. It was a trade between Canton and London, preserved as a strict monopoly for the benefit of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, commonly referred to as the Honourable (English) East India Company. The products sent as stock were lead, tin, and copper from Cornwall, woollens from Yorkshire, and latterly cottons from Lancashire; but even if the products of others of the three united kingdoms were sent, I should have to refer to the trade as English, since I need British to include the great trade with the Indian Presidencies, as well as the smaller trade with British North America and Botany Bay or other parts of New Holland. It will be noted, however, in the course of this narrative, how prominent a part in the affairs of this English Company has been taken by men with Scottish names, and, in the later years of the Company's monopoly, how enterprising were the 'private English' of Scotch extraction.

I have found it confusing to write of 'the season 1779–80', and still more confusing to write of 'the three seasons 1779–82'; I have therefore in this work called each season by one year. It will help the reader if I record the period covered by the transactions for one season at Canton, which for convenience I call 'the season 1779'.

The silver dollars, woollens, and lead sent from London for stock were contracted for in the spring and summer of 1778, and shipped before the close of that year; ships dispatched Bombay and China, Coast (Madras) and China, or Bay (Calcutta) and China, ordinarily sailed in August or September 1778; direct ships received their sailing orders in January, February, or sometimes March, 1779, and sailed from the Downs as soon thereafter as the wind permitted (cases are on record in which ships were wind-bound in the Downs for forty days); the first ships might arrive in July, 1779, and the others were strung along from then until, sometimes, as late as February, 1780. Contracts for the homeward investment were made from March, 1779, to December, 1779; but odd lots were bought in the market up to March, 1780. The earliest ships were sometimes

dispatched from Canton in November, 1779; the greater number by the end of January, 1780; a belated few in March, 1780; and occasionally one in the first week of April, 1780. A few early ships arrived in the Downs on the return voyage in time for the September sales, 1780; a considerable number arrived after that date, and their cargo must then wait until the December sales, 1780, or the March sales, 1781.

These are the transactions of the Canton season 1779.

I most gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to the late Sir Frederick William Duke, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Under-Secretary of State, for the permission given to me to burrow in the records of the India Office; and to Sir William Foster, Kt., C.I.E., formerly Registrar, and now Historiographer, to the India Office, whose unequalled knowledge of Indian history and of Indian commercial facts has always been placed at my disposal, and has been of the greatest service. For my illustrations I am indebted to Mr. James Orange, who has generously given me prints from pictures in the collection of Sir Catchick Paul Chater, Kt., C.M.G., of Hongkong; and to Captain H. Parker, of 12A Berkeley Street, London, from whom I received several illustrations of shipping at different periods. I am indebted to the Right Hon. the Earl of Lichfield for the print of H.M.S. *Centurion*, taken from the contemporaneous model of the ship.

Finally I wish to express my deep sense of obligation to Sir Francis Arthur Aglen, K.B.E., Inspector-General of Chinese Customs, for his constant support and encouragement.

H. B. M.

CAMBERLEY,
October, 1925.

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From a coloured lithograph by W. Daniell, in the Collection of Sir C. P. Chater, Kt., C.M.G., of Hongkong. (Daniell was in Canton in 1785, but the lithograph was published in 1805.)

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Lying at Whampoa, flying the Hon. Company's ensign. Painted by W. J. Huggins; engraved by E. Duncan. By courtesy of Messrs. T. H. Parker, 12A Berkeley St., London, W. 1.

Howqua, also known as Puiqua. Born 1769; died 1843 . *facing* 1

From the original oil portrait painted by G. Chinnery for W. H. C. Plowden, Esq., formerly in the possession of J. Orange, Esq., then in that of the late A. G. Stephen, Esq.

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From a survey by W. Bramston, 1840, in the Collection of Sir C. P. Chater, Kt., C.M.G., of Hongkong.

CHINESE OFFICIALS

At Canton :

Viceroy (Tsungtu, Tsongtock, Chuntuck, Zuntuck) : the highest civil official over the two provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi (the Two Kwang) ; his official seat was at Shiuhing, but he was frequently at Canton, where he had a ' flying office '.

Tartar-General (Tsiangkün, Chunkoon) : commandant of the permanent resident Manchu garrison ; his position under the Empire may be compared with that of the Warden of the Cinque Ports.

Hoppo (Quanpoo, Yüeh-hai-Kwan-pu) : the Imperial Commissioner of the Kwangtung Customs, with head-quarters at Canton.

Governor (Fuyuen, Fooyen, Fuion) : the subordinate colleague of the Viceroy in matters relating to Kwangtung ; his seat was at Canton.

Treasurer (Pu-cheng Shih-sze) : in control of the provincial revenues remitted to Peking.

Judge (An-ch'a Shih-sze) : judge of offences committed by officials, and the connecting link in judicial cases referred to Peking.

Grain Commissioner, Salt Commissioner } in control of the grain tribute and the salt gabelle respectively.

Taotai : the administrative authority over two or three Prefectures.

Prefect (Kwangchow Fu, Quangcheofou) : the official in administrative control of the Fu or Prefecture of which Kwangchowfu (or Canton) is the chief city.

Namhoi Hien : the Magistrate over the western half of the city of Canton and the District lying to the westward (up-river) ; in this District and under his jurisdiction are the foreign factories at Canton.

Punyü Hien : the Magistrate over the eastern half of the city of Canton and the District lying to the eastward (down-river) ; in this District and under his jurisdiction is Whampoa with the foreign shipping lying there.

Titu : the Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese troops (the Green Banner) within the Province.

Tsungping (Chumpien) or Chentai : the commander of the Green Banner troops within the Prefecture or Fu.

Futsiang or Hiehtai : the commander of the Green Banner troops within the District or Hien.

At Macao :

Heungshan Hien (Hiangshanyün) : the Magistrate over the District of which Heungshan is the chief city ; Macao lies in this District.

Tsotang : the Sub-Magistrate or deputy of the Heungshan Hien, residing in Macao.

Künming Fu : the military officer in command of the station at Casa Branca, established to hem in Macao.

CONVENTIONAL EQUIVALENTS

CURRENCY

THE tael of currency at Canton was treated in the accounts as equivalent to 6*s*. 8*d*. (£1 = Tls. 3).

The Spanish dollar was treated in the accounts as equivalent to Tls. 0·72, the exact equivalence in weight (apart from the touch of silver) being Tls. 100 = 120·8 oz. troy.

The Spanish dollar was invoiced from 1619 to 1814 at 5*s*. per dollar (£1 = 4 dollars). From 1815 it was invoiced at the actual cost (c.i.f.) per oz. Salaries and other fixed charges at Canton were paid at the rate £100 = $416·67. Bills on the Company in London were issued at rates ranging from 4*s*. 10*d*. to 6*s*. per dollar, for bills payable 365 days after sight.

WEIGHT

The picul is 133⅓ lb. av. = 100 catties.
The catty is 1⅓ lb. av. = 16 taels.
The tael is 1⅓ oz. av.
The tael of Canton was actually 579·85 grains.

LENGTH

The *ch'ih* or 'covid' or 'cubit' of the carpenters of Canton was 14·1 English inches: used for measuring ships and cloth.

THE CHINA SEA and its APPROACHES

Statute Miles 0 100 200 300 400

Nautical Miles 0 100 200 300 400

CHINA SEA

C H I N A

B U R M A

SIAM

TONG KING

CAMBODIA

COCHIN CHINA

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

LUZON

MINDANAO

BORNEO

CELEBES

MOLUCCAS

NEW GUINEA

SUMATRA

JAVA

PACIFIC OCEAN

INDIAN OCEAN

SULU SEA

CELEBES SEA

JAVA SEA

FLORES SEA

BANDA SEA

SAVU SEA

TIMOR SEA

Manipur, Bhamo, Yun-nan, Kwei-lin, Foochow, Keelung, Chang-chow, Amoy, Formosa, Mt Morrison, Taiwan, Mandalay, Szemao, Song-koi, Nanning, Wu-chow, Canton, Swatow, Hong-kong, Macao, Pak-hoi, Kwang-chow-wan, Hanoi, Gulf of Tong King, Bashi Channel, Batan, Balintang Channel, Luang Prabang, Chieng Mai, Prome, Pegu, Rangoon, Bassein, Moulmein, Gulf of Martaban, Vien-tiane, Vinh, Hue, Hai-nan, Kiung-chow, Paracel Reefs, C. Engano, Lauag, Korat, Tavoy, Bangkok, Paknam, Chantabun, Mergui Archo, Gulf of Siam, Nha-trang, Pnom Penh, Saigon, C. Padaran, Isthmus of Kra, Manila, Batangas, Albay, Mindoro, Samar, Panay, Iloilo, Leyte, Sebu, Negros, 5550 Fathoms, Bandon, Puket I., Cambodia, Pulo Condore, Palawan, Balabak Str, Zamboanga, Kotabato, Palau, M. Sawng Kla, Kota Bharu, Achin, Penang, Labuan, Kinibalu, Sandakan, Sulu Archo, Brunei, Medan, Malay Peninsula, Kuala Lumpur, Pekan, Malacca, Malacca Str., Natuna Is, Anamba Is, Talaur Is, Sangi Is, Simalur, Nias, Singapore, Rhio Archo, Sibu, Rejang, Kuching, Kapuas, Kajan, Batu Is, Pontianak, Lingga Archo, Padang, Mentawei Islands, Korinchi, Palembang, Benkulen, Banka, Belitong, Ketapang, Samarinda, Barito, Banjarmasin, Laut, Macassar Str., Jilolo, Ternate, Halmahera, Moluccas Passage, G. of Tomini, Peling Is, Sula Is, Obi Is, Misol, Dampier Str., G. of Tolo, Buru, Serang, Amboina, Latimojong, G. of Boni, Buton, Macassar, Kei Is, Aru Is, Telok Betong, Bantam, Sunda Str., Batavia, Samarang, Surakarta, Jokyakarta, Madura, Surabaya, Bali, Lombok, Tambora Mt, Allas Str., Sumbawa, Flores, Lomblen, Ombaya, Wetter, Timorlaut Is, Delhi, Timor, Sumba (Sandalwood), Kupang, Rotti, Christmas I.

I

INTRODUCTORY

In the latter part of the fifteenth century the nations of Europe found themselves cut off from the Indies by the successive occupation by the Ottoman Empire of Alexandria and the Levant, which closed the Red Sea route, and of Trebizond and Constantinople, which blocked the outlets of the trans-Asian caravan routes as they then existed. The European world was profoundly moved. The substitution of the Turkish for the Saracenic power in the Levant, and for the Christian régime on the Euxine, put an end to facilities which were essential for a traffic that was exceptionally costly and dangerous; and, while a cessation in the trade in the silks of Cathay meant only the loss of an opportunity for great profits, the spice products of the East were essential to give a flavour to the otherwise flavourless diet of the Middle Ages.

Of the sea-going peoples of Europe, the English and French were timid navigators outside the narrow seas; the interests of the Hanseatic League and of the Italian states were bound up in the caravan and Red Sea routes; and the only two powers venturesome enough to open oceanic routes to the Indies were Spain and Portugal. The Spanish Crown provided money, ships, and men, with which the Genoese Colon in 1492 sailed westward to the Indies and so acquired that New World [1] which was for three centuries the most productive part of the Spanish dominion; but, beyond pushing westward across the Pacific to the Philippines, the Spanish accepted the division of the Indies made by the Borgia Pope Alexander VI in 1493, and adopted no measures then to open up the trade of the East Indies.

Portugal struck south, and by successive steps (1462 Sierra Leone, 1471 the Equator, 1484 the Congo) reached the Cape of Good Hope in 1487. Ten years later, in 1497, Vasco da Gama rounded that cape and crossed the Indian Ocean to Calicut;

[1] 'Á Castilla y á Leon nuevo mundo dió Colon.'

thence he brought back to Lisbon a rich lading of silks and satins, nutmegs and cloves, pepper and ginger, and specimens of the artistic products of the Indian peninsula. Portugal was filled with enthusiasm and took immediate steps to develop the trade of the Indies. Factories were established in 1501 at Cochin and Calicut, and in 1505 at Colombo; in 1510 Goa, and in 1511 Malacca, were taken and held in Portuguese possession; and between the years 1513 and 1547 factories, usually protected by garrisoned forts, were established in such places as would most easily dominate the trade of the Indian peninsula and of the Spice Islands of the Malay Archipelago.

In 1517 a fleet of trading ships was dispatched to Canton; and in the following fifteen years several factories were established at ports on the coast of China, as far north as Ningpo. The Portuguese frequenting these factories gave so many illustrations of the buccaneering spirit common to the European nations of that day, that, between 1545 and 1549, they were attacked by the Chinese, many of them killed, their ships burned, and the factories closed. In 1557 they were allowed to settle at Macao.[1]

During the period when the products of the East came by the caravan, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea routes, the European traffic was centred, in differing degrees, in Venice, Genoa, and Pisa; but, after the opening of the oceanic route by the Cape of Good Hope, the Portuguese took active steps to force the whole of the trade to take that route. By well-garrisoned posts established at an early date they had accomplished this before the middle of the sixteenth century. These posts were:

On the west: Ormuz (1515) at the entrance of the Persian Gulf.
Bab-el-Mandeb (1513) at the entrance of the Red Sea (though Portuguese attempts on Aden and other points at the entrance to the Red Sea were not permanently successful, entry to that sea was thereafter difficult and dangerous for Turks or Arabs).

On the east: Malacca (1511) on the Straits of Malacca.
Bantam (1520) on the Straits of Sunda.

[1] Cf. *Int. Rel.*, I, iii, §§ 1–6.

Under these circumstances Lisbon was now the mart at which Europe obtained the spices and other products of the East Indies.

In 1580 Portugal was annexed to the Spanish Crown, the Lisbon market came under the control of the court of Madrid, and free access to it was no longer obtainable by the traders of England and of the free (rebellious) Netherlands. If the English and Dutch were to obtain spices for their tables and silks for their costumes and their pageants, they must pay exorbitant prices to neutral profiteers [1]—or they must themselves go to the source of supply.

The Dutch acted with great sixteenth-centuryish promptness, and before fifteen years had elapsed they sent some ships to Eastern waters—war ships and merchant ships were then interchangeable terms—and in 1596 they expelled the Portuguese from Bantam, sold their goods, and loaded a cargo. In 1598 they sent eight ships, and others in each succeeding year, all engaging in a profitable trade and bringing home large cargoes of spices. In 1602 the Netherlands East India Company was chartered, with a capital of 6,600,000 guilders; and in the next year it sent out a well-armed fleet of fourteen merchant ships. This fleet attacked the Portuguese settlements at Mozambique and at Goa, the viceregal capital, but was repulsed; it drove the Portuguese from Tidore and Amboyna; and at Banda a fort was built to give protection against the Portuguese. Permanent factories were established at Calicut, Kananur, Bantam, and Amboyna, and in the years following Dutch trade obtained a firm footing at many strategic points, north of latitude 10° S., from the Arabian Sea to the Pacific Ocean.

In 1638 the Dutch obtained the sole right to trade with Japan, all other European states being excluded; in 1641, having expelled the Portuguese, they took possession of Malacca; in 1658, after a twenty years' war with the Portuguese forces, they obtained control of the whole of Ceylon; and by 1660 they dominated the trade of the Spice Islands, monopolized that of Japan, and were an important element in that of the Indian

[1] From 4*s.* a lb. in 1580, the price of pepper on the London market had increased twenty years later to 8*s.* a lb., although in the meantime the Dutch had made a beginning of breaking the Portuguese monopoly. Wissett, *Compendium*, i, p. 11.

peninsula; but in the trade of China they did not succeed in obtaining a footing.

In ejecting the Portuguese from post after post, the Dutch were fighting the Spanish king, and this gave an additional zest to their war for the right to trade. Spain had, it is true, concluded a twelve years' truce with the free Netherlands in 1609; and the treaty had been so worded that, while the Indies had not been expressly mentioned, the Hollanders and the whole world knew that the Netherlands had, by force of arms, conquered the right to trade where they wished, any Borgian grant to the contrary notwithstanding. But, while peace might be maintained in European waters, resistance and aggression were the rule in the East Indies—India and the Spice Islands—as in the West Indies—the Caribbean Sea and the mainland of America; and even in Europe, during the whole term of the truce, the politico-religious difficulties simmered, leading to the Thirty Years' War which broke out in 1618.

During the first third of the seventeenth century the Dutch pushed their trade in the Indies with great activity. They ejected the Portuguese from many places; they established factories at many commercially strategic points; but they took military possession of very few places. Their object then was trade, and not dominion.

The English established their factories also, and established them in many places side by side with the Dutch; but from the early years of the century there was competition and friction between the two, increasing year by year, especially after James I had manifested his dislike of republican institutions and his inclination to a pro-Spanish policy, and becoming acute in the third decade, more especially after the massacre of the English by the Dutch at Amboyna in 1623. Then, after the beginning of political conflict in England and the Civil War, during the time of the Commonwealth and while Tromp was alternately sweeping the Channel and being swept from it, and while Charles II was indulging in his Francophil tendencies, the Dutch in the East Indies were left with only the Portuguese to contend against, and, step by step, they took possession of post after post, and created their colonial Empire. By the time that William of Holland ascended the throne of England, the Nether-

lands were strongly established in the Indian peninsula, and controlled practically the whole of the Malay Archipelago.

The first attempt by the Dutch to enter into direct trade with China was in 1604, when one ship was sent to Canton; but the Macao authorities intervened and permission to trade was refused. A similar attempt in 1607 had a similar result. After this they abandoned for a time their efforts for direct trade, and obtained their Chinese produce at factories to which Chinese junks traded—at Hirado in Japan, at Bantam in Java, at Calicut and Surat. In 1622, however, Kornelis Rayerszoon, with fifteen ships, attacked Macao, but was repulsed with the loss of nearly 300 men, the admiral himself being killed. The fleet then seized the Pescadores Islands, and held them for two years, fortifying the port, presumably that which the Chinese call Makung; and making it a centre of trade to which Chinese produce should be brought by Chinese junks. In 1624 the Dutch abandoned the Pescadores, partly under threat of an attack in force by the Chinese from Amoy, partly relying on a promise that they would not be disturbed if they established themselves in Taiwan or Formosa.[1] They then established a factory at Anping, an open roadstead, exposed to the south-west monsoon, constituting the port of the administrative city called by the Chinese for two centuries Taiwanfu, and from 1885 Tainanfu; and for their protection built a brick block-house, Zelandia Castel, with solid walls six to eight feet thick. Factories were also established, protected by similar block-houses, at Tamsui, a good anchorage at the mouth of a river, well protected from the south-west monsoon, and at Kilung, the two serving as ports to the busy mart of Banka, later to the new tea mart of Twatutia, and from 1885 to the administrative city of Taipeifu.

The Dutch now held Formosa in quasi-overlordship, until, in 1661, the Ming partisan Cheng Chengkung, better known as Koxinga (Kwok-sing-yeh, 'Of the Imperial name'), being hard pressed by the Manchus at Amoy, sailed with a force of 25,000 troops to Formosa, and the Dutch rule there came to an end. The Dutch sent from Batavia a fleet of twelve ships to co-operate with the Manchu Emperor in the investment of Amoy, the last place on the mainland coast which was still held for the Mings;

[1] Cf. *postea*, p. 41.

and for a century after that the Dutch maintained a more or less clandestine trade at Amoy and at other ports on the coast of Fukien, usually having to buy permission from the local officials on each occasion. At Canton they did no trade; they made a third attempt in 1653, but were again frustrated by the intrigues of the Portuguese. In time they opened a trade between Batavia and Macao, but did not until 1729 send any ships direct from Holland to Canton.

Englishmen of the time of Elizabeth and James I were ready for adventure, and were bold, even reckless, in undertaking it; but England was timid, distrustful of her own powers when out of soundings of the Narrow Seas. In Elizabeth's time, which saw the bold enterprises of Hawkins, and Drake, and Raleigh, and Gilbert, only one attempt was made to trade to China. In 1596 a company, with Sir Robert Dudley at its head, sent out three ships, taking a letter from the Queen to the Emperor; the ships were never again heard from; and, as there is no record of tribute having been received from England during the reign of Wanli (1573–1620), they must have been wrecked on the outward journey. On the last day of the century,[1] December 31, 1600, letters patent were issued by Elizabeth incorporating a company under the title of 'The Governor and Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies', and granting to it a monopoly for fifteen years of trading between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan. The monopoly was made perpetual by a charter of James I issued in 1609, was strengthened by another of the Lord Protector Cromwell in 1657, again by another of Charles II in 1661. In 1698, under the sanction of an Act of Parliament, the government of William III chartered a rival company, 'The English Company Trading to the East Indies'. In 1702 it was agreed to amalgamate the old and the new Companies, and the amalgamation was carried into effect in 1709. The temporary rivalry of the two Companies seems to have had no influence on the trade with China, and there will be no confusion if, in this work, general reference is made to 'The Company' or 'The Honourable East India Company', without any distinguishing designation.

[1] By our 'new style' calendar; in Elizabeth's time the year ended on March 25th.

The Company's system until 1657, the date of Cromwell's charter, was to raise a 'stock', and with it to equip ships to make a 'voyage'; a separate account was kept, and on the termination of the 'voyage' by the return of the fleet with its lading, the 'stock' and the profits were distributed among the subscribers. In 1657 a 'New General Stock' was created, which formed the permanent capital of the Company, was increased from time to time, and was not returned to the subscribers.

The Company, on its incorporation, raised a stock of £72,000, with which it bought and fitted out five ships, loading them with goods and money to the value of £27,000. This fleet sailed in 1601 to make the first voyage; it captured a Portuguese ship in the Straits of Malacca, loaded pepper and spices at Achin and Bantam, settled factors at Bantam, and returned in 1603.

The second voyage was sent out in 1604 with four ships, which traded at Bantam, Banda, and Amboyna. The third voyage was sent out in 1607 with three ships, which traded at Bantam, but were prevented by the Dutch and Portuguese from loading in the Moluccas. Thereafter a voyage was sent out nearly every year, consisting of one, two, or three ships; factories were established at several places, including, in 1615, the following:

India: Surat, Agra, Ahmedabad, Ajmir, Barhanpur, Calicut, Masulipatam.
Siam: Iudea (Ayuddhia), Patani.
Sumatra: Achin, Jambi, Tiku.
Java: Bantam, Jacatra.
Borneo: Succadaana, Banjarmassin.
Spice Islands: Macassar, Banda.
Japan: Hirado.

The establishment of factories meant only that factors were settled at the marts, and that residences and warehouses were built or rented. None of them were protected by forts or garrisons until, in 1643, the Company received the grant of Madras and built Fort St. George. At most of these places the English Company had factories alongside the Dutch, and at some with the Portuguese. At first the Presidency of the English Company was at Bantam, and from 1620 to 1626 at Batavia; and then at Bantam for the Far East until 1682; but

in 1619 the Presidency for the Mogul's dominions, and in 1639 that for the Indian peninsula and Persian Gulf, was established at Surat.

The Netherlands Company also, at the outset, had its headquarters at Bantam, guarding the Straits of Sunda; but in 1611 they were transferred to Jacatra, which the Dutch fortified in 1619, changing its name to Batavia.

The beginnings of the English Company were modest. In its first nineteen years, 1601–20, its export trade to the East Indies was of the following value:

	Total.	*Annual average.*
	£	£
Woollens, metals, and other English products	292,286	15,383
Silver bullion and coin	548,090	28,847
	840,376	44,230

The disproportion between goods and bullion was characteristic, and endured for two centuries.

In the single year 1674–5 the whole trade was of the following value:

		£	£
EXPORT:	Woollens, metals, &c.:		
	Company's trade	110,000	
	Private trade of officers	45,000	
			155,000
	Silver bullion and coin:		
	Company's trade	320,000	
	Private trade of officers	90,000	
			410,000
			565,000
IMPORT:	Cotton cloth, saltpetre, indigo, silks, pepper, spices, &c.		860,000

Of the imports in that year, 28 per cent. was retained for home consumption, the remaining 72 per cent. being either added to stocks or re-exported.

After the amalgamation of the two Companies, in the fifty years 1710–59 the Company exported from England to the East Indies a total of £9,248,306 in goods, and £26,833,614 in bullion and coin, an annual average of £184,966 and £536,672 respectively.

After a period of prosperous trade along the coast of China, the Portuguese had been allowed to settle at Macao; and there

they lived under the jurisdiction of the Chinese authorities. The Portuguese jurisdiction over Portuguese subjects was not generally interfered with; but in all other respects the Chinese control, territorial, judicial, and fiscal, was absolute, and remained so for three centuries, until 1849. The Portuguese maintained their position, for residence and for trade, by a system of gratuities to the Chinese, paying heavily to secure their own trade, and, during the first century, paying more heavily for the exclusion of others. The early trade was worth paying for. As late as 1612 it was categorically stated that the licence of the Viceroy at Goa authorizing a ship to trade at Macao was worth £25,000 to the ship for the one voyage;[1] and a Portuguese Governor at Macao would not lightly allow this profit to go to a ship under a foreign flag.

The Dutch Company had failed to obtain access to the Canton trade, and the English Company conceived that it was useless to try. Chinese products could only be obtained by them in the ports of the Malay Archipelago or of India.

Tea could only be procured from China. The first notice taken of the leaf in England was in 1664, when 2 lb. 2 oz. were bought by the Directors of the Company at a cost of £4 5*s.* to be presented to His Majesty, and again in 1666, when 22 lb. 12 oz. were bought for £56 17*s.* 6*d.*; these lots of tea came, presumably, from Holland, or, possibly, were bought from their own ship's officers. The first importation made by the Company appears to have been in 1669, when 143 lb. were received; then 79 lb. in 1670; both from Bantam. Thereafter tea was imported year by year, from Bantam, from Surat, from Ganjam, from Madras, until 1689, in which year there is the first record of an importation of tea from Amoy. One of the importations from Bantam is noted as having been 'part of the present from Tywan', but in general the Company's factors bought, at Bantam from Chinese junks trading there, at Surat from the Portuguese ships trading from Macao to Goa and Daman. Nearer than this they could not get in reaching out for the China trade.

[1] *Encyc. Brit.* s.v. 'Portugal'. 'Portuguese levied on the Goga junck 65,000 mamoodes [= 26,000 rupees] for custome to the porte of Dieu.' Surat to E. I. C. Court, Mar. 12, 1619 (1620).

The Company at one time entertained some hopes from a letter written by James I to the Emperor; but in January 1617 (1618 N. S.) the Presidency at Bantam wrote, in discouragement of these hopes, that 'no Chinese dare translate and send these Letters; it being death by the Laws of their Country; or give passage to any Christian who shall carry them, neither is there any security to send otherwise thither'.

The most persistent attempt to procure Chinese products was made from Hirado (Firando), an island and port of Japan a short distance north-west from Nagasaki. Here factories were established by both English and Dutch—by the Dutch as soon as the truce of 1609 created an official state of peace in Eastern seas, and by the English in 1613, working as dependencies of the English Presidency at Bantam, and the Dutch at Batavia. The English factor, Mr. Richard Cocks, made a gallant struggle, but could accomplish nothing. The Japanese would buy but little of his spices, and would sell him less of their own products; and he could not secure any Chinese trade. Mr. Cocks did what he could on the spot by enlisting the services of one Andrea Dittis, then headman of the Chinese traders at Hirado. After a year and more of alternating hope and disappointment, Mr. Cocks in January 1620 (1621 n. s.) wrote that 'the old Emperor has resigned the Government unto one of his Sons; and the new Emperor has granted unto our Nation Trade unto China for two Ships a year; and the place appointed near to Fuckchew [Foochow], and that there wanted but the Firms of two Viceroys of two Provinces to confirm it'.[1] Later, in September 1621, he wrote that 'Andrea Dittus, the China Capt. entrusted with Negotiation for liberty for the Trade of China has returned to Firando [Hirado]; says permission is granted'. Then, in a manner familiar to all who have had dealings with Chinese negotiators, he adds—'Says he hath disbursed above 12,000 Tais [Taels] already in endeavouring to obtain it; and if the Company's Agent desert him now, he shall be undone'. Under date December 31, 1622, he again wrote, 'Andrea Dittu, the

[1] This was probably pure invention. The aged Emperor Wanli (reigned 1573–1620) died, and did not abdicate; he was succeeded by his son Taichang, who reigned for one month and then died; he was succeeded by his son Tienki (1621–8), a youth of sixteen years. Tienki's reign was spent in resisting rebellions and combating the Manchus.

China Captain, still mentioneth that our Nation may have Trade into China, if they will; but not the Hollanders'. Mr. Cocks was too wary a bird to be taken by chaff, and his hopes for the China trade were doomed to disappointment. Orders had already, in January 1621 (1622), been sent from Batavia to abandon Hirado; and, after a period of passive resistance by the factor, they were carried into effect.

1623, July 25th. Consultation of the Factory at Firando—that this Factory is dissolved in obedience to orders from Batavia.

1623, Dec. 16th. Consultation at coming away.

So ended an enterprise which seemed to offer the best prospect of indirect trade with China. The result was due partly to the fact that the Chinese would have no trade, except at Macao; but, in any case, success was impossible owing to the jealousy of the Dutch and their constant obstruction. The jealousy was apparent from the time of the first appearance of English ships in Eastern waters; and the obstruction became pronounced from the time when the truce with Spain opened up to the Netherlands the trade of the East Indies, formerly monopolized by Portugal, but in which they conceived that they were the destined inheritors of all Portuguese privileges—as soon as they should have dispossessed the previous possessor. In the Indian peninsula they were, perhaps, subject to some restraint; but, in the Malay Archipelago and the waters of the north, they admitted no rival, Spanish, Portuguese, or English. From 1611 the peace between the Dutch and the English was an armed peace, not quite a state of war, but one of constant fighting like two dogs over one bone.

From Mr. Cocks at Hirado the complaints were frequent.

1614, Dec. The Hollanders are much complained of 'for robinge and riffling 7 Junckes', they who did the robbing giving out that they were 'Inglishmen'.

1617 (1618), Feb. The Dutch, after blockading the Spaniards in the Manillas, had rifled many Chinese junks 'in the name of Englishmen'.

1619, July. Refers to three Dutch Ships which, in the previous year, had 'surprised the English ships *Sampson* and *Hound*, by a sudden aggression, in the Roads of Pattania in resisting which Capt. John Jourden, the English President of the Indies, lost his life'. One of these came to Hirado, having on board three Englishmen captured on

that occasion; they escaped to the English factory, and Mr. Cocks rescued them only after repelling three assaults made by the Dutch.

1619 (1620), March. 'Through the indirect Dealings and unlooked for Proceedings of the Hollanders, this is the third year since Firando had any Shipping come from England, or from Bantam.'

The same complaints came from Bantam and Batavia; from the former that Chinese junks were forcibly prevented from coming there, those which attempted it being plundered and their crews murdered; from the latter that the Dutch left the English only the refuse of the market, and that they had terrorized the Chinese by wholesale piracy and murders. The Composition entitled the Treaty and Defence, made in 1619 by James I with the Netherlands, produced a momentarily pacifying effect; the English and Dutch ships saluted each other; and the English and Dutch fleets combined for an act of piracy on the Chinese junks sailing 'for the Manillas' (Mr. Cocks to the Court, Hirado, Sept. 30, 1621). They combined also for joint attacks on Goa and on Manila, but separated before Admiral Rayerszoon's assault on Macao. Its effect was, however, short lived, and the friction between the English and the Dutch increased in virulence year by year, characterized at the very outset by the massacre of the English factors at Amboyna. While there might be peace in Europe, the agents in the Indies could not be restrained in their rivalry for trade and for monopoly.

In January 1635 the English Company, tired of this state of veiled war, made a *modus vivendi*, in the form of a 'Truce and Free Trade to China', with the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa. The Viceroy, Dom Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares, had formerly been hostile to the Company because of the piratical depredations of French and English renegades, whose doings had given the English a bad name; but the English President of the Indies, Mr. William Methwold, then established at Surat because of the constant friction with the Dutch at Bantam, found means to convince him that the English Company should not be held responsible for these *hostes gentis humanae*. Mr. Methwold was further of great use to the Viceroy in mediating a peace between the Portuguese and 'the Mogul's son resident at Daulatabad', whose army had invested Daman.[1]

[1] Surat to the Court, Dec. 1639.

For these expressed reasons the Viceroy and the President fell into each other's arms, and the Truce and Free Trade was agreed.

But other, and more practical, reasons influenced the two. The English Company was very desirous of obtaining a footing in China and engaging in the direct trade; through the Dutch, had their relations been most friendly, there was no hope of attaining their aim; but the Portuguese were already established at Macao and engaged in the direct trade, and through them the desired footing might be obtained. The Portuguese were cut off from Macao through the Dutch strength in Far Eastern waters—only two years later a Dutch fleet was maintaining an effective blockade of Goa—and their only hope was in the use of the neutral English flag. The immediate result of the Truce and Free Trade was the dispatch of an English ship from Goa to Macao 'for Freight Goods'; and the *London* was ordered to be 'immediately dispatched' from Surat to Goa.[1]

This venture, undertaken by the first English ship to reach a Chinese port, was a failure. The Governor of Macao was not inclined to allow his nominal superior, the Viceroy of the Indies, at Goa, to interfere with his prerogative and perquisites, and he had no difficulty in persuading the Chinese authorities, by the usual inducements, to throw every obstacle in the ship's way; and he declared that the visit of the *London* 'cost us many thousands of dollars in payment of duties to the Emperor of China and compulsory fines to his Mandarins'.[2] The only point worth mentioning in connexion with her visit is that, after some haggling, measurement fees amounting to 1,400 reals of eight were collected from her. Such profit as was made from her voyage was impounded by the new Viceroy, Dom Pedro da Silva, on her return to Goa.[3]

[1] Surat Consultation, March 28, 1635.
[2] Letter to the King of England, Dec. 24, 1637 (n. s.), in *Peter Mundy*, vol. iii, p. 504.
[3] Surat to the Court, Dec. 1639.

II

WEDDELL AT CANTON, 1637

In the seventeenth century monopolies were universal. States themselves were foremost in seeking to monopolize trade, and, more particularly, in forcing their colonies and dependencies to trade only with themselves. The Italian cities and the Hanseatic League had, each in its own domain, insisted on the most exclusive monopoly over the traffic in the products of the Indies. Portugal developed the oceanic route and forced into it the whole of the trade of the Indies; a new monopoly was thus created, which was only broken when the Netherlands entered the field. The Dutch also grasped at exclusive control wherever they established themselves; to accomplish this, they fought the Portuguese, and they hampered the English at every turn. When they acquired dominion, they made their monopoly absolute: they decided where they could best control the production of spices—Amboyna for cloves, Banda for nutmegs, Ternate for allspice—and ruthlessly destroyed all the trees in the other islands of the Moluccas;[1] and they reserved the trade of their ports for themselves.

The English administration followed the fashion in establishing monopolies; but the English people, while ready to apply the system to their colonies, resented its application to themselves. They had forced the imperious Elizabeth to abandon her monopolies; the shambling James I created many for his favourites, but he was compelled to cancel them, and their abolition was confirmed by Act of Parliament; Charles I, searching everywhere for revenue, created new monopolies and maintained them so long as he could avoid summoning a parliament; and to this particular monopoly, that of the East India Company, Kings, Protector, and Parliaments all with one accord gave lip service in giving support. They all recognized that, for so great a distance from home waters, for the many risks to be encountered,

[1] Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, chap. xxi.

for the long planning and preparation needed, and for the expense of maintaining so many distant factories, the trade must have the protection of a monopoly.

Poaching was, however, common and interlopers numerous. Private individuals took the law into their own hands and fitted out ships for the trade. The Company was armed with jurisdiction over such offences, and the interlopers, when caught, were dealt with summarily; this was done, for example, in the notorious case of Skinner in 1658; but on his return to England he appealed for redress to English law, and his rights as an Englishman were upheld by the House of Lords, while the House of Commons supported the monopoly of the Company. But very commonly in the seventeenth century the interlopers obtained from the King, by the inducements customary in those days, a licence to infringe the Company's monopoly; and such a licence was, in 1635, issued, through the influence of Endymion Porter, to Sir William Courteen, Thomas Kynaston, Samuel Bonnell, and others, composing the Courteen Association.

On December 6, 1635, Charles I became a shareholder in the adventure, and agreed to 'put into the Joynte stock' the sum of £10,000. On the 12th he issued a Royal Commission to Captain John Weddell as Commander, and Nathaniell Mountney as Cape (Chief) Merchant. Reciting the contract for the 'Truce and Free Trade' signed at Goa; complaining that the East India Company 'have neither so planted and setled trade in those parts nor made any such fortification or place of suerty as may give assurance or encouragement to any in future times to adventure to trade there', and that, owing to this neglect, he, the King, had received no benefit from the trade, 'whereas the Portugall and Dutch have planted and fortified themselves there and established a lasting and hopefull trade there'; and referring to the failure to discover 'the Northwest Passage towards the East Indies . . . We the King by these presents under our Royall Signature and Signet give you not onely Licence and expresse Command, but also full power and authority . . . to undertake a voyage to Goa, the parts of Mallabar, the Coast of China and Jappan, there to trade. . . .' The adventurers were also authorized, 'if occassion shalbee offered', to trade to and from all other places east of Cape Bona Esperance; to search

for the 'Northeast passage to the North part of the Californias on the backeside of America', and further to 'take possession for us of all such Lands as they shall discover and conceave may bee of advantage and honorable for us to owne and hold'. The commission also authorized them to 'make and use one Common Seale wherein is to bee engraven A Lyon passant gardant between three Imperial Crownes'; declared that the privileges granted were to be valid 'Notwithstanding any grannt or Pattents formerly given to the Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, The Turky Company or any others whatsoever'; and 'required' them to 'carry in all your Shipps the same Colours commonly called the union Flagge which our own shipps and none but the Shipps imployed in our particular Service ought to beare'.

Under the same date were issued:

1°. A letter of instructions to Captain Weddell and Mr. Mountney;

2°. A Royal Commission to Captain Weddell to use Martial Law; and on the 19th December:

3°. A Royal Commission to Captain Weddell for taking Prizes; and on February 20, 1635 (1636):

4°. A letter of Commendation from H.M. King Charles I to the Agents of the United Oriental East India Company of the Netherlands;

5°. Letters to the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa, and to the Governor at Macao.

Armed with such powers as these, the Courteen Association might well have become the predominant English Company trading to and from the East Indies.

The Association lost no time in equipping a fleet of four ships, the *Dragon*, *Sunne*, *Catherine*, and *Planter*, and two pinnaces, the *Anne* and *Discovery*. With these Captain Weddell and Mr. Mountney left the Downs on April 14, 1636; of the others on board, two only need to be named—Thomas Robinson, who knew the Portuguese language, and Peter Mundy, the diarist and historian of the adventure—both engaged as 'Merchants'. They arrived at Goa on October 7th, where they found that a new Viceroy looked but coldly on the Truce and Free Trade; and 'finding Nothing butt Delaies, faire Wordes and breach of

promises', they demanded and, after a stay of three months and ten days, obtained leave to depart. On January 11th, while Weddell was still at Goa, the Dutch and Portuguese fought a naval battle off the port, the advantage inclining to the Dutch. Weddell left Goa on January 17, 1636 (1637), and, having established factories at Bhatkal, Cochin, and Achin, and calling in at Malacca, arrived on June 27th, with three ships and one pinnace, at Monton de Trigo, or Mount Trego, 'some 3 leagues short of Macao'.[1] This has been identified as Wongkum, called by the Portuguese Montanha, on the eastern side of the Broadway outlet of the Chukiang or Pearl River.

The Governor of Macao was in a difficult position, as he represented in letters to the Viceroy at Goa, to his Government at Lisbon, and in a long letter of apologetic explanation to the King of England. By the action of two Dutch fleets—too strong for the Portuguese to deal with—blockading Goa and the Straits of Malacca, Macao was cut off from intercourse with India and Lisbon, and was restricted to trade with Nagasaki and Manila. Communication with Nagasaki was precarious, and, in fact, in the next year a monopoly of trade there was granted to the Dutch; Manila, though under a different administration, was subject to the same crown as Macao, and the trade there was unfettered. In Canton the Portuguese had no footing: they were allowed to go to one annual fair, being then restricted to one small island, presumably the Haichu (Pearl of the Sea), fronting the city; but, apart from this, their trading was restricted to Macao, under such regulations as the Chinese officials might impose, and at such prices as the Chinese traders might exact. Even under these conditions their trade was worth a million taels a year;[2] and the Governor was apprehensive lest, if a footing should be obtained by the English, to whom the road to India was open, the whole of this trade might be lost by the Portuguese. Two years before the Chinese officials had made a strong protest because one English ship had come, and now the arrival of four would excite their fears; and if they should visit their anger on the Portuguese, the latter might well be driven from a country in which they remained only on sufferance, having no firm footing.

[1] *Mundy's Travels*, vol. iii, pp. 158, 489 seq.

[2] Ibid., p. 208.

Besides this, the Governor was not inclined to admit the binding authority of the convention for a Truce and Free Trade signed at Goa, declaring that the situation at Macao was so delicate that relations there could only be settled directly between the Kings of England and Spain. Being in this state of mind, the Governor, from the very first day, adopted every available means to prevent these English interlopers from securing any trade.

When Weddell arrived the Portuguese fleet for Japan was awaiting its lading; and, as the prosperity of Macao depended on its dispatch, every device of procrastination was adopted to prevent the English from interfering, and guard boats were sent to patrol around the English ships. Weddell was informed of this, and after moving into the Taipa anchorage, waited patiently until, on July 23rd, the fleet (six small vessels) departed with its lading complete. Meantime, however, he had sent off the *Anne* to search for the entrance to the river of Canton and make a survey; she found the Bogue entrance and penetrated as far up as the First Bar, within fifteen miles of the city, taking soundings and bearings on the way. She returned to Taipa on July 22nd, and, after exercising patience for a week longer, Weddell took his squadron out and sailed for the Bogue. Baffled by light winds and contrary currents in unknown waters, he made slow progress, getting no farther than Chuenpi on August 6th, and Anunghoi on the 8th, ten days for a course of forty-eight miles from his anchorage at Taipa; but his principal obstruction was caused by the remonstrances of the Chinese officials.

These began to pay attention to the fleet on the day following its arrival at Taipa anchorage, when a deputy of a 'greatt Mandareen att Cantan'[1] boarded the *Dragon* to 'know our intentts and Demaunds'. Two weeks later, on July 15th, another visit was paid by four officials, of whom one had come from Canton; their purpose was to note the number of men on board, the armament, cargoes, and amount of money for investment. Until the departure from Taipa there was no declaration by the Chinese that they might not trade—at Macao. After

[1] The name of the city of Canton is Kwangchow (or, as it is a city of the first class, Kwangchowfu). The Portuguese, in their strange environment, applied to it the name of the province, Kwangtung, and other foreign nations have continued to copy them in calling it Canton.

Weddell started from Taipa, he was visited off the Nine Islands (August 1st) by Chinese officials, who requested him to anchor there; but 'thatt nightt wee wayed' and went on. On the 4th 'there came to us heare another Fleete of greatt China Juncks, The Kings Men of Warre, about 40 saile', by which he was 'Desired to Anchor, which wee did'. On the 6th a messenger from this fleet 'Desired us to proceed no Farther towards Cantan'; to this Weddell returned a conciliatory answer; but, his ships being then only at Chuenpi, he expressed a wish to go farther in for shelter. He was requested to wait a few days for permission to be received from the high authorities in Canton; but he went on, and, having reached a safer anchorage at Anunghoi on the 8th, he anchored. All around, on the fleet and in the forts, he saw continually many signs of bustling preparation; on shore he could buy no provisions, and his white flag obtained no respect;[1] and he prepared his ships to meet any attack that might be made. The Chinese seeing that he had hoisted his 'Kings coullours on our Mayne toppes, taking Downe Saint George',[2] and understanding its significance, sent again to beg him to wait yet six days for authorization from Canton. To this he agreed.

Three days later, on August 12th, the *Dragon's* barge was sent up to take soundings, and, passing close to the forts on Anunghoi, she was 'shott att 3 severall tymes', but not hit. This was more than Weddell could stand. 'Then outt went againe our Kings coullours, wastcloathes[3] and bloudy ensigne,[4] And the tide of Floud serving, wee came uppe, Anchored Near unto [the fort] and beesett it with our 4 shippes.' The Chinese opened fire first, but their fire was futile, while the English shot straight and fast; and in half an hour the Chinese troops ran out of the fort. The English landed, 'tooke Downe the China Flagge, hung it over the wall and thereon advanced our Kings coullours'.

[1] The white flag had no significance to the Chinese, but neither Weddell nor Mundy could be expected to know this.

[2] Dropping the status of a trading ship, and assuming that of a King's ship, authorized to fight.

[3] Canvas coverings for hammocks, stretched along the waist of a ship on going into action: precursors of the later boarding nettings.

[4] The bloody ensign or flag of defiance was displayed as a signal to engage, or possibly as a sign of 'no quarter'. Editor's note in *Mundy's Travels*, iii, p. 189. It would also be understood by the Chinese as a signal to engage.

In the abandoned fort were found 44 small cannon of 'Near 4 or 5 hundredwaightt each'. Of these guns 35 were taken on board as prize of war. On that day and the next two junks and a fishing boat were captured, and by the fishermen a letter in Chinese was sent to Canton, 'shewing therein a reason of our thus proceeding with them, and thatt contrariwise our Desire was to have their Friendshipp and Free Commerce in their Country'.

Two days later, on August 15th, Pablo Noretti came down from Canton and spoke very fairly, as if nothing of moment had occurred; he had come 'with warrant from the Great Mandereens in Cantan to know the reason of our coming into their partes, and what wee desired'; and he assured Weddell that 'if wee would Consent to deliver up the gunnes and other materialls which wee had taken out of the Castle' he would report to the Tsungping (Brigadier-General), and 'doubted not but wee should have our desire, provided that wee would pay the Kinges duties as the Portingalls did'. The next day he left, accompanied by two Merchants of the fleet, John Mountney and Thomas Robinson.

This Pablo Noretti had a bad reputation in Macao, and later on played Weddell and the Merchants some bad tricks; but, for the moment, he promised well and Weddell entertained high hopes. Weddell might even feel that he had been justified in his high-handed action in attacking and dismantling the Bogue forts; and this feeling must have been confirmed when, at midnight of the 19th, his two Merchants returned and reported that they had been received by the Tsungping with courtesy and with full honours.

On August 21st Noretti returned, bringing with him, from the Haitao and the Tsungping, a document in Chinese, of which he gave Weddell a rendering in Portuguese. According to him, the document declared that, inasmuch as the Portuguese had refused all trading facilities at Macao and as he was willing to pay the King's duties, 'they graunted us Free leave to buy and sell any Comodity in their Country, appointing us the Choice of 3 severall places For our shippes to Ride in'; it further designated Noretti as commissioned to act as broker, requested that two or three Merchants should go to Canton prepared to buy

goods for a cargo, and pleaded that the guns and junks should be restored. Weddell might well be satisfied with this: he at once restored the guns and junks; and on the 24th Noretti returned to Canton, accompanied by the Cape (Chief) Merchant Nathaniell Mountney, together with John Mountney and Robinson, they taking with them 22,000 reals of eight, besides two small chests of Japanese silver. Of this sum '10,000 for the Mandereens, and the rest for imployment'.

From the Portuguese records in Lisbon we have a more correct rendering of the document—one more in keeping with the manifest duty and natural feelings of two military officers charged with the sea and land defences of Canton, who had had their forts knocked to pieces by the intrusive red-haired[1] barbarian. These officers complained of the high-handed action at Anunghoi; declared that, before they could admit the ships into the river, they must refer the matter to the higher authorities—the Viceroy and Governor of the province—and that, without their licence, the ships must not enter to trade; and directed the subordinate officers to order the ships of the red-haired barbarians to weigh anchor without delay and put out to the open sea. The document ended with a solemn warning—'should you have the great boldness to harm so much as a blade of grass or a piece of wood, I promise you that my soldiers shall make an end of you, and not a shred of your sails shall remain: you shall have no time for repentance and your sin shall not be forgiven'.

The Ming Empire was nearing its end,[2] and its vital force was at its lowest ebb; but official tongues and pens retained their wonted vigour, and the style of this document was common form. But Weddell had no knowledge of its true purport until October, and even then did not credit it; and, taking Noretti's rendering at its face value, he sent to examine three anchorages which had been proposed to him, but found them all impossible. On August 29th, seeing signs of 'exceeding Fowle weather' approaching—a 'Tuffaon'[3]—he asked permission to move

[1] To the Chinese 'red-haired' would comprise all shades from ripening wheat to ripe chestnut, including also the vermilion hue with which they depict the demons of the nether world.

[2] The Manchus in 1636 had already adopted the designation of the Ta-tsing Empire, and in 1644 their Emperor mounted the throne of Peking.

[3] Typhoon, the hurricane of the China Sea.

farther into the river, but it was refused; he then the next day moved two miles farther up to 'Tayfoo', Tiger Island, where he remained until September 10th. On the 6th he received from the Governor and Council of Macao a written protest against entering into trade at Canton, as being prejudicial to the interests of the Portuguese, and requiring him to quit Chinese waters and to put to sea. This protest was 'forthwith answeared in a slighting Manner'; Weddell, relying on the relations supposed to have been established through Noretti, asking—'Why then should we wait for license from the King of Castile or his petty Viceroys in these parts?' Weddell's hopes were high; on the 7th he sent up by Noretti to the Merchants at Canton an additional sum of 12,000 reals of eight, and on the 8th Robinson, who had brought down 1,000 piculs of sugar, took up 28,000 reals of eight; but he was soon disillusioned.

On September 10th, at the turn of the tide to ebb, at two in the morning, three fireships were sent against the fleet. They were detected just in time, and the ships either cutting or slipping their cables, edged off from the line of danger, while the fireships 'all Drave without us. The Fire was vehementt. Balles of Wylde [Greek] fire, Rocketts and Fire-arrowes Flew thicke as they passed by us, Butt God bee praised, not one of all was touched.'

This was a blow to Weddell's expectations, and, above all, he could not but reflect on the hazardous position of his Merchants, in the hands of the Chinese in Canton. The danger to ships he could face, for he was a hardened captain, having commanded a squadron in an action with the Portuguese at Ormuz; but the position of his Merchants daunted him, and he lost his head. His feelings were also exacerbated by continual reports that the Portuguese were at Canton, stirring up the Chinese to renewed hostilities. At first, however, he took the ships to their former anchorage at Anunghoi; then he debated with his officers whether they should return to Macao; but ultimately, no news having then been received for a fortnight from the Merchants at Canton, it was decided to 'Doe all the spoile wee could unto the Chinois', in order to incline the Chinese to better treatment of the Merchants and of the ships.

On September 18th Weddell began active operations. Before dawn the next day three junks fitted up to serve as fireships and two other junks were burned, a 'small towne' was set on fire, and thirty pigs carried off; the rest of the fleet of '16 saile of the Kinges man of Warre' were beaten off. Two days later, on the 21st, a letter from Mr. Mountney was received, stating that the Merchants 'were kept in straightt and feared Dayly to have their persons seized', and that they had lost sight of the money sent up. Thereupon Weddell landed a force, which occupied the Anunghoi fort, found abandoned. The next day his men 'burned one great Juncke'; and the commanders 'went on shoare, undermined the Fort and with 3 barrelles of gunpowder blew uppe much off the wall, Crackt, shooke and Defaced all the rest, especially inwards'.

Now, on September 24th, came a letter from the Chinese officials, 'wherin they Desired us to stay yett 10 Daies, and then wee should have our requiry'. Believing this to be a subterfuge, and having report that a Fukienese fleet was expected to come to attack him, Weddell, on the 26th, dropped down to Lintin, and on the 27th to within four leagues of Macao. Thence the Council of the fleet sent a letter of protest to the Captain-General and Council of Macao, reciting their grounds of complaint at Goa and at Macao; charging the Portuguese with having provided and fitted out the fireships; throwing on them the responsibility for the detention of the Merchants; and summoning them to 'deliver up and return to us the said Merchants who are detained in Canton on your account, with all their cargoes, and also to give compensation for the loss sustained in this voyage, of which your Worships are the authors'. The Governor repudiated all responsibility for what had occurred; and a friendly intermediary persuaded Weddell to substitute for his defiant protest an humble petition that the Portuguese would use their influence to procure the release of the Merchants, with their money and goods. After some delay, occasioned by Weddell's disinclination to trust his own person to the Portuguese in Macao, the Governor acceded to this request, in return for Weddell's undertaking, dated October 9th, that, on the restoration of his Merchants with their money and goods, he would 'depart peacefully from Chinese waters, without injuring any one', and

would ' never return to these shores '. Two days later Weddell received permission ' off a limmitted trade ' in Macao.

During this interval occurred a curious illustration of the normal attitude of English sailors towards the Spanish. On September 30th, the day after the date of the humble petition, while the fleet lay at four leagues from Macao, the Spanish galleon for Acapulco arrived from Manila and cast anchor close by. Peace subsisted between England and Spain, and Weddell was at Macao by virtue of a convention signed by the Portuguese Viceroy of the Indies, a subject of the King of Spain ; besides this, he was entreating the Governor of Macao to use his good offices on his behalf ; notwithstanding these considerations, Weddell debated with his officers ' Whither it were best to stay her or lette her goe '. When it was decided to let her go, ' our not intercepting her bredd greatt Murmuring in our whole Fleete amongst the Commonalty '.

When the Merchants went up to Canton, it had been arranged through Noretti that they should pay gratuities of 10,000 reals of eight for this present investment, to be divided among the officials ; and that, if later a factory were established there, they should pay the same as the Portuguese, 30,000 reals of eight a year. They took with them a little over 22,000, of which the officials impounded 10,000. They were smuggled into the city in Chinese clothes, and lodged in an upper chamber, not being ' permitted so much as to looke out of our doores, much less either to see anie goods saving the musters [samples] '. In this way they bought some commodities, and had promise of more, so they sent down to the ships for more money ; and a further sum of 40,000 reals of eight was sent up. The officials then fell out over the distribution of their share in the money ; and, the Tsungping having appropriated to himself six-tenths of the 10,000 dollars allotted to the whole body, his superior, the Haitao, besides ' clapping the Tsungping in prison ', took steps to squeeze yet more out of the sponge. As a part of his measures, the Merchants were deprived of attendance and of food and water ; their persons were not seized, but they were in imminent danger, so much so that they resolved to sally forth sword in hand and fight their way to the river, in order that they might seize boats and escape to the ships, or might die in the open. This coincided

with Weddell's resolve to do all the spoile he could unto the Chinese, and the higher officials became apprehensive of the ultimate results of the line of action taken by the military ;[1] they restrained the Haitao and his subordinates, so that 'those alofte at the Citty had some better usadge', and ordered that restitution should be made, either of the money that had been detained or of goods of equivalent value.

On October 16th some Portuguese came to Canton to arrange matters. On the 18th a mock conference with mock officials was held, when an attempt was made to force the Merchants into an undertaking to quit Canton forthwith and for ever, and into paying 28,000 reals of eight for the privilege of such trade as they had done ; on the 20th they were told that the officials had assessed the amount payable at 2,800 taels (4,250 reals of eight) ; a stubborn resistance was made to these demands, and from that time the trade progressed more smoothly—the Portuguese-cum-Chinese bluff had been called. For some time after this the Merchants battled energetically for their belongings with Noretti and his trading allies ; and ultimately they saved their own, completed their trade, and on November 22nd gave to the Tsungping a quittance for all the money and goods they had brought with them, except a sum of 1,000 reals of eight, which was to be sent after them. The Tsungping had, however, 'firste contracted with Nathaniell Mountney and caused him to signe a Condition that in leiwe of free and ample trade and residence, the English would yearly paye the Kinge 20,000 tayes [30,000 reals of eight], fowre peece of iron ordnance and 50 musketts'. The Merchants left Canton on November 26th to rejoin the fleet at Macao.

The full explanation of the facility accorded in returning their money and allowing them to complete their trade is found in the formal undertaking, signed by Captain Weddell, Nathaniell Mountney, and Captain Swanley, and delivered to the Chinese officials on November 30th, declaring : that 'through ignorance of the laws of China we did the things that we have done in

[1] In China, under the Empire, whether Ming or Tsing, the military by profession were universally illiterate and generally boorish, even those of high rank. The literate class supplied the civil service, whose members were, generally speaking, scholars and gentlemen ; but these qualities did not, of course, impair their capacity for accumulating a fortune from their offices.

entering inland into the country, trusting in the merciful [mercy of the] King of China and in the great favours we have received from him, being men of distant lands'; that the Chinese, having obtained security from them, had brought them to Macao, 'from whence we may depart to our country'; that they would act 'in conformity with the laws of China, never more to break them', as confirmed by this document; and that, 'should we act in any way contrary thereto, we will submit to any punishments the Mandarins and the City of Macao shall order'.[1] The inference seems fair that the higher officials at Canton had resolved to keep their own military in order, to condone the offences of a band of piratical raiders (so they must have regarded them), to keep them contented by allowing them to complete their trade, and then to pack them off, on their undertaking never to return. The Chinese have commonly acted thus in buying off formidable pirates, especially when they could find a responsible leader with whom to negotiate.

The business at Macao was wound up as quickly as the procrastination and obstruction of the Portuguese would allow; and on December 20th the *Catherine* was dispatched for England, calling at Achin and Bhatkal, with a cargo of such commodities of those obtained at Canton and Macao as were in fit condition for the long voyage. The rest was kept for trading at Achin and in India. The total of the cargoes obtained was as follows:

Sugar, 12,086 piculs.
Sugar candy, 500 piculs.
Green Ginger, 800 piculs.
Loose Gould, 30½ (?),[2] cost 4,333 Reals of eight.
Stuffes (silks and satins), 24 cases.
China-root (Smilax China), 100 piculs.
Campeach wood (Logwood from Mexico), 9,600 pieces.
Chinaware, 53 tubs.
Gold Chains, 14.
Cloves, 88 chests.

An approximate estimate based on prices recorded by Mundy gives about, but more than, 60,000 reals of eight as the cost of

[1] This document was in Spanish, with the attestation in Portuguese.

[2] This may have been 30½ lb. troy (175,680 grains); or except for the word 'loose' it might be 30½ shoes of 10 taels weight each (a total of 176,854 grains). Cf. *postea*, p. 108.

the above. As the trade done at Macao was, probably, not very large, it seems clear that the Merchants were able to invest in goods the greater part, if not all, of the 62,000 reals of eight which were at their disposal at Canton, and that, to some extent, they were protected from the rapacity of the civil and military officials and of the Cantonese merchants. Weddell also reported to the Association that 'wee have yet remayninge 80,000 Rs. undisposed of', besides 3,500 proceeding from the sale of the pinnace *Anne* to the Spanish galleon; it is clear, therefore, that the actual result of the voyage fell far short of the hopes which he had entertained in August. He still, however, saw a prospect of entering the China trade in the future, and with that in view he recommended that the Island of Hainan should be seized and held as a British possession.

With the two ships left to him, the *Dragon* and the *Sunne*, Weddell left Macao on December 29th, six months after his arrival there. His last act was one of defiance to the Portuguese Governor and of injury to his official revenue—or to his private purse. The *Dragon* took away 'nere 140 Portugalls . . . with an unknowne treasure, All come withoutt the knowledge and Consent off the Captaine General', and contrary to his direct orders; their object in sailing on the *Dragon* was that they 'durst not, as they Confesse themselves, goe on their owne vessells For Fear off the Hollanders'; Weddell's motive in taking them is found in 'the quantity and quallity off their goodes wee had aboard, profferinge largesse, as Fraight gratuities, to our principall Commanders and common Men'. The two ships were stopped by the Dutch off the Singapore Strait, but were got past them by a subterfuge, and arrived at Malacca on January 16th and at Achin on February 3rd. From Achin Weddell with the *Dragon* proceeded to India, and the *Sunne*, having completed her lading, sailed direct for England; the latter left Achin on March 3rd, and arrived at Dover on December 15, 1638, the distance sailed outward bound having been 17,281 miles, homeward 18,923, a total of 36,204 miles.

So ended an enterprise conducted by the Courteen Association,[1] with the full support of the English Crown, in a trading

[1] In 1649 the Courteen Association was absorbed into the East India Company.

field in which that Crown had granted a monopoly to others; those others had failed and had brought no profit to the Crown; and the King hoped to achieve, through the Association, a success which the Company had not obtained. The enterprise was a failure, leading to no future results; and, in seeking the causes, we must beware of applying to the seventeenth century the well-ordered and fully established standards of the twentieth. That was an age of monopoly and of buccaneering expeditions—the holders fighting to exclude all others from sharing in their profits; the intruders fighting for free trade, which, when they obtained it, they in their turn sought to convert into a monopoly for their own benefit. Under these conditions the conduct of each of the three parties concerned was what might have been foretold.

The Portuguese held a valuable monopoly, which they enjoyed on sufferance; the Chinese officials maintained a strict control over Macao and the Portuguese in it, and exacted from the Portuguese a tribute of 30,000 dollars a year for the privilege of trading; while the Chinese merchants held the Portuguese in the hollow of their hand, and granted them such trading conditions as they pleased. The Portuguese officials in the Indies were notorious for their rapacity even in that age of official corruption. They all, officials and merchants, saw their monopoly threatened and their profits endangered, and adopted every means in their power to shut out the interlopers, to make trade impossible for them, and to induce them to think it inexpedient to return. They were charged by Weddell with inciting the Chinese to their acts of obstruction and hostility; in the nature of things, there can be no proof of this, but it is not inherently improbable; and, lacking the force to compel the English, it is very probable that they adopted the indirect means with which they were charged.

The Chinese were naturally rapacious in their extortion from foreign traders; they had, a hundred years before, suffered from the aggressive conduct of the Portuguese, and, like the hermit crab, sought every means of protecting themselves from similar action by other encroaching foreigners. With the tamed Portuguese they could deal, as, from 1638, the Japanese also began to deal with the Dutch in Nagasaki; but with the turbu-

lent, intrusive, unsubmissive English, they had a harder task. The uneducated military at the outset saw their opportunity, and grasped it, to fleece Weddell; the huckstering traders, not yet elevated to the high standard to which they had attained by the end of the eighteenth century, rushed to the mellay of plunder, to get what they could, each for himself; the higher provincial officials, even in those days when the Ming Empire was drawing to its close, had a saving sense of wise discretion; they intervened to call off the plunderers, and to bring the English to a recognition of their wrongdoing and a promise to conduct themselves better, if they should ever return to a Chinese port.

The English, by our standards, behaved badly; but, by the canons of the day, their conduct was normal. Weddell had, fresh to his mind, the memory of Drake at Nombre de Dios, and other more recent instances of forcible opening of trade in the East Indies, in which he had himself taken part. China had been a closed house; the Portuguese had a side door opened to them on terms; but against the English the door had been shut and barred. Weddell came, ready to use the Portuguese side door, ready to knock humbly at the front door, but ready also to burst open the door if it should be slammed in his face. He had been for years in the service of the East India Company, and his opinion may be assumed to have been the same as that expressed in 1627, in a reasoned memorandum on opening trade with China, by the Presidency of Batavia to the Directors of the Company. The memorandum begins:

> Concerning the Trade of China, three things are especially made known unto the World.
>
> The One is, the abundant trade it affordeth.
>
> The Second is, that they admit no Stranger into their country.
>
> The Third is, that Trade is as Life unto the Vulgar, which in remote parts they will seek and accommodate, with Hazard of all they have.

Weddell was resolved to seek trade with hazard of all he had. He waited patiently for more than a month in the hope that he might obtain what he wanted through the Portuguese. Then he applied at the Bogue, and when he was requested to wait, he waited; but when his boat was fired on, he considered that his face had been slapped, and he hit back. If the position had

been reversed, even in those days, and a Chinese *Dragon* had been ordered to wait below Tilbury Fort until the London Customs Authorities could be referred to, a boat from the *Dragon* engaged in taking soundings past the fort would not perhaps have been fired on, but the police would have been sent to arrest it. Being in remote parts and ready to hazard all he had, Weddell struck. When his ships were attacked by fireships, with reports of a threatened attack by war junks, and knowing that his Merchants were in peril at Canton, he took strong action and sought to force the Chinese to their knees. He had now put himself in a position such that he could not ensure the safety of his Merchants, and to obtain that he was driven to eat humble pie: he acknowledged his wrongdoing, undertook never to repeat his offence, and, on those terms, was allowed to complete his trade for the present voyage.

III

MACAO AND TONGKING

The East India Company had striven for a third of a century to obtain entrance to the China trade, and had had no success. The Courteen Association, subsidized and fully supported by the King, had forced an entrance where the East India Company had failed; but it did not secure a footing, and the venture was not repeated. A significant feature of Mountney's treatment by the Chinese traders was his failure to obtain any considerable quantity of the products which, in the eighteenth century, formed the chief components of the Chinese trade. The bulk of the cargo obtained consisted of sugar (750 tons), which it was afterwards found cheaper to take from Sumatra and India than from Canton, and 50 tons of ginger; there was also some log-wood which had been imported from Mexico, and cloves from Bantam or Batavia. Of the products of China there were only about 20 to 30 tons—silks, chinaware, and China-root; of tea, not an ounce. Even such success as the venture had was only a semblance, and not even a beginning of trade with China had been made.

After the date of Weddell's venture, affairs in England were in a state of confusion for a decade—from the Scottish Solemn League and Covenant in 1638 to the execution of Charles I in 1649. Then for another decade followed the Commonwealth, characterized by Cromwell's campaign in Ireland and against Charles II; by war with the Dutch, 1652–4, during which no effective protection could be given to English trade in Eastern waters; and by the personal government of the Lord Protector Cromwell, who concentrated his attention on European affairs.

The *London* in 1635 had been chartered to the Portuguese. In succeeding years the authorities at Goa were persistent in their efforts to induce the English President of Surat to send other ships on charter, owing to the danger from the Dutch, especially after 1641, when their possession of Malacca enabled the Dutch

to close the Straits entirely. To these requests the English turned a deaf ear; whatever friction there might be between the two, the Company's agents were careful to give the Dutch no just cause for complaint of a breach of neutrality. In 1644 the *Hinde* was sent to Macao on a trading venture for the benefit of the Company—the first undertaken by it. She arrived on August 9th, and was in the beginning received in a friendly spirit; but 'afterwards were by them and the Chinese injuriously exacted upon; and that principally in measuring the Ship, for which they paid 3,500 Rs. [reals of eight] whereas their due in reason should not have been above 800 Rs., nor so much in proportion to the *London*, which paid but 1,400'. But their chief cause of discontent was the extreme poverty of the place, 'destitute of all sorts of commodities; there not being to be bought in the City, either Silks raw or wrought, or Chinaroot . . . nor indeed anything but Chinaware, which is the bulk of the *Hinde's* lading, the rest being brought in gold'.[1]

This was the year in which the last Ming Emperor committed suicide by hanging himself, and the first Manchu Emperor mounted the Chinese throne; and trade must have been completely dislocated in all parts of the Empire. Five years later it was reported that the Portuguese in Macao were in a state of rebellion against their own Viceroy in Goa, 'having lately murdered their Captain-General, and so distracted amongst themselves that they are daily spilling one another's blood'; and that 'the Tartars [Manchus] overrun and waste all the inland country, without settling any Government in the places which they overcome, and soe some of their Great Men in China . . . rob and spoil all the Sea Coasts'.[2] Even later, in 1664, the year of the *Surat's* voyage, it was reported—'Also there is soe many great Vessells of Rogues y^t lye about y^e mouth of y^e river [Canton], y^t it muste be a lusty Ship & double-maned to goe thither; & as times now run, under y^e Tarter's government little security of ꝑsons, any trade or dispatch there, nor is there any certainty of Trade in any ꝑt of China under y^e Tarter'.[3] The Manchu administration had been established nominally in the city of

[1] Surat to the Court, March 31, 1654.
[2] Bantam to the Court, Jan. 10, 1648 (1649).
[3] Relation of voyage of *Surat* frigate, to Presidency, Bantam, Feb. 1, 1664 (1665).

Canton in 1653, but the Emperor could not feel that he had overcome all attempts at rebellion until 1683; and even after that date there was much piracy along the whole coast.

In 1658 it was reported through Dutch channels that two English private traders—interlopers—the *King Ferdinand* and the *Richard & Martha*, were at Canton, but 'had not yet got their Ladings'.[1] It was later reported that they did not obtain an outward cargo, and that, by reason of their 'running away without payeing y^e^ measure [measurement dues], caused y^e^ Manderines to lay a heavy taxe upon y^e^ Citty [of Macao]'.[2]

The fourth English venture to Macao, and the second for the Company's benefit, was with the *Surat* in 1664. She left Bantam on June 12th, fell in with the new Captain-General for Macao on July 5th, and, in his company, arrived at Macao on July 12th. Those on board were informed that 'they had not any Trade there in upwards of 2 yeares'; and that 'y^e^ Tarters [Manchus] were soe base, y^t^ any Ship y^t^ did come under command of y^e^ Towne forts was not ꝑmitted to goe out againe, but must lye ratting [rotting] within; as is to be seen by sad experience; 15 saile of y^r^ owne good Ships, and 4 of y^e^ King of Syam, lyeing by y^e^ walls, and dare not budge forth upon greate penaltyes'. The Portuguese authorities forbade all communication with the town until the Chinese officials should come from Canton to collect measurement dues and grant pratique; they claimed, for the city of Macao, a tax of 6 per cent. of the value of the ship's cargo; and they sought to make the *Surat* answerable for the heavy tax imposed by the Chinese on the city by reason of the wrongdoing of the *King Ferdinand* and the *Richard & Martha* five years earlier. The last claim was repudiated by the *Surat*'s council: 'Those were none of y^e^ Compa[ny's] Ships, & it concerned us not.' For many days they were alternately buoyed up by encouraging assurances from the Portuguese, and depressed by reports from the same Portuguese that they were 'baffled by the Manderines [at Canton] who today ꝑmise one thing & tomorrow deny it'; dissuaded from going on to Tunkeene [Tongking], and staying on at Macao in hope of securing

[1] Batavia to the Court, Nov. 22, 1658.
[2] Relation of voyage of *Surat* frigate, to Presidency, Bantam, Feb. 1, 1664 (1665).

some trade. On August 5th they had a brighter gleam of hope: a Portuguese contracted to buy 400 piculs of their pepper at 21 reals of eight a picul, and, in payment, to deliver half in white silk at 270 Rs. and half in tutenague (spelter) at 11 Rs.; but nothing came of the offer. At the end of August the Chinese first took notice of the ship, and sent on board to ask particulars of cargo, &c. Against this they protested, being 'almost worne out by delayes'; and they proposed to go ashore in Macao and trade, or to sail away. The first was refused by the Chinese; and against the second the Portuguese protested, since the unauthorized departure of the ship would inevitably bring calamity to the city. The Portuguese, however, after long discussions carried through a proposal that they should take a house in Macao and land their goods for sale. From October 3rd to 27th they were engaged in landing their cargo, 'but with great trouble; also sometimes haveing foule weather, & truckeing by little & little as could'.

Measurement dues had been referred to, but a definite claim was first made on October 27th, three and a half months after the ship's arrival. They were now required to 'put in for security, our measure of our Ship, 2000 teele [taels], w^{ch} is about 3000 Doll.' When they tried to protest, the Portuguese informed them that 'they needed noe reply, but it must be soe, declareing w^{t} unreasonable men y^{e} Manderines were'. The *Surat* people offered to deposit 1,000 dollars for 'our Ship's measure', then 1,200, then 1,500. These offers were rejected, and a guard was set over their house; and the *Surat* could obtain no reduction in the demand. On November 12th a deposit of pepper at 18 reals of eight, and lead at 8 reals of eight, sufficient to make up a sum of 2,926½ reals of eight, was made, and 'they tooke off y^{r} Souldiers'.

This ought to have ended their troubles, but they continued to experience them. Their trade was blocked; the ship was required to move and lie behind some islands, 'leaste y^{e} Manderines should see y^{m}'; no traffic between ship and shore was permitted, 'leaste they seeing us, troubles should arise to y^{e} Citty'; and, despairing of a good trade, they obtained permission 'to imbark y^{e} honõble Compa[ny's] goods, take our leaves, & imbark our ꝑsons'. This was completed, 'soe y^{t}

upon y^e^ 12th [December] we sett saile towards y^e^ roade of Bantam againe '.[1]

The *Surat* had taken from Bantam a cargo of indigo, pepper, lead, and putchuck, of a total value of 9,573 reals of eight; she had done but little trade, and had paid 2,926½ reals of eight as measurement dues; and she found the export market bare, with prices high. Since Weddell's venture twenty-seven years earlier the price of sugar had risen from 3½ to a quotation of 4½ @ 6 reals of eight a picul, and green ginger from 7½ to 14 @ 18. The voyage was a failure, and the factors summed up the situation with the vain aspiration—' Another oꝑtunity may ꝑve more beneficiall to our Masters y^e^ hono'ble Compa[ny]: but y^n^ there must be special leave from y^e^ King of Portugall; for y^e^ Citty of Macaw have writt to him, & y^e^ Vice Roy of Goa, not to give any Strangers leave to come thither '.

Defeated in their purpose of having direct trade with China, the agents of the Company again began to feel their way to indirect trade. They had tried this at Hirado in Japan; they had also tried it through their factory at Ayuddhia in Siam; these two factories had been closed in the same year, because they could not cover their expenses. In 1670 the Directors instructed the Bantam Presidency to take steps to open trade with Japan, or Formosa, or Cambodia.[2] In August of that year the Presidency sent the *Bantam* pink and a sloop to Formosa; and on September 10th a contract was made ' with the King of Tywan for the settling of a Factory '. The opening was good, inasmuch as the Dutch could have no access to the island after their expulsion in 1661; and the contract was favourable, granting the Company many privileges, and requiring the importation by every ship, for the use of the King, of specified quantities of gunpowder, guns, iron, pepper, woollen cloth, &c., to be paid for at fixed prices. The Presidency was much encouraged, and on June 22, 1671, dispatched ' the *Bantam* Pink of 100 tons, and the *Crown* of 220 tons, for Tywan and thence to Japan ', accompanied by the junk *Camel*. The last returned, but the two first were not heard of again. The opening of trade with Formosa was therefore postponed.

[1] Relation of Surat, Feb. 1, 1664 (1665).
[2] Court to Bantam, Feb. 25, 1669 (1670), Oct. 4, Dec. 24, 1670.

In 1671 the Directors sent to Bantam three ships, the *Experiment*, the *Return*, and the *Zant* frigate, for the express purpose of opening trade with Taiwan, Japan, and Tongking.[1] These ships, having had their lading made up at Bantam, sailed thence, the *Zant* on May 25, 1672, for Tongking, the *Experiment* and the *Return* on June 9th for Taiwan and Japan.

The *Zant* arrived in the river of Tonqueen [Tongking][2] on June 25th, and on the 27th sailed to Domee, fourteen miles further up. A letter was sent to the King of Tongking; and on July 1st a representative of the King came on board; the next day the ship moved up to Hien [Hungyen],[3] about half-way to the capital Catchaw[4] [Hanoi]. The officials then demanded particulars of the cargo; this seemed a strange custom to the factors, but they 'saw no remedy but to comply'. A statement was then demanded of the presents intended for the King and the Prince; this they were unwilling to give 'till we might have some assurance of a Trade', but it was found necessary to 'give them content'. On the way up the officials had constantly interfered with the handling of the ship, even to the extent of imperilling her safety. From the very outset the factors were much depressed by the outlook, and on July 3rd they asked leave to 'go back again, for we believed our Honorable Employers would not trade here upon such terms'. The answer was prompt and decisive, that 'while we were out, we might have kept out; but now we are within the King's power, we must be obedient thereto'.

This was really their position. A factory was established, and it struggled along for twenty-five years under a system of gifts, perquisites, and exactions; unable to sell for cash; unable even to buy for cash, but receiving much of their export lading in the shape of 'gifts' from the King and from the Prince—as much or as little as those potentates chose to give.

[1] Court's instructions, Sept. 20, 1671.

[2] The Red River in its principal channel. The modern port of entry is farther north, at Haiphong, where a greater depth over the bar gives admission for large ships to one of the network of streams intersecting the alluvial plain.

[3] On English maps also called Hean.

[4] In the factory records this is variously spelt—Catjaw, Catchaw, Catchao, Kacho. On English maps of quite recent date called 'Kesho or Hanoi'.

On this voyage of the *Zant* the supercargoes' stock consisted of the following:

53 bales of cloth [1]
257 piculs of lead
10 great guns
16 chests of brimstone
618 piculs of pepper
159 piculs of sandalwood
38 bales of drugs (medicinal plants)
8 packages of sundries
10,000 Reals of eight.

'Out of which [the official] said he must have for the King, without price, manner or time of payment, the particulars following':

17 bales of cloth
20 piculs of brimstone
150 piculs of lead
7 great guns
6 piculs of drugs
and some other sundries.

He also demanded half the money on board, and repeated his demand the next day, threatening to use force; this was resisted, and ultimately the man was bought off by a bribe of 100 reals of eight.

Three days later men came demanding gratification for the Prince, about half the amount demanded for the King, but a sufficiently heavy exaction. In addition to these, every man who came on board, and they were many, had to be satisfied with money, or with a gift of curious or valuable articles. On July 24th there was another demand on behalf of the King, and another for a prince, the third son of the King. Then the factors were called up to Hanoi to see the King, who, they were told, would then settle how much he should pay for what he had taken. When, after some days' delay, the prices were announced, they were only a third of what the goods had cost.

They were then allowed to return to Hungyen and dispatch the *Zant* to Taiwan. She left Hungyen on August 7th and

[1] A bale of broadcloth contained three pieces or six half-pieces, of other cloths from 20 to 100 pieces. In the records is a note of the cost price of black broadcloth at £21 the half-piece.

crossed the bar outward bound on the 15th. The factors remained behind to establish the factory and to obtain payment for their goods; the officials 'made us such prices as the Company would lose by . . . and would have forced upon us Silk at 40 ℔ cent dearer than might be procured abroad. So we rather chose to defer making up the account till the King's Return.'

The factory struggled on. No sales appear to have been made except through the officials, and they accounted for them 'at the King's prices' only. The Dutch, who had a factory there, were no better treated, and were required to sell at the King's prices and to give constant bribes and gifts. One characteristic story is told of the treatment of some Chinese junks in 1680:

> The King formerly made a Contract with the Chinamen that came from Japan, not to meddle with their plate [silver] on condition that each Junk would allow him annually 1000 Tael, and the Prince 500 Tael; which proportions were paid them this Year: yet notwithstanding the King forced from both the Junks 10,000 Tael; and the Prince 7000 Tael; for which they will pay Silk at a dear rate. Of which extortion the Chinamen made many unavailing Complaints.

Sometimes the King or the Prince would pay cash for some of his purchases of cloth; but one or the other would 'send word that he had ordered to pay Cashes for said Goods at the rate of 1500 Cashes per Tael, whereas the current rate of Exchange was 2200 Cashes per Tael'; [1] but the factors ultimately succeeded in obtaining payment at 2,000 cash. Two years later, in 1682, they note: 'Exchanged Plate; nett 100 Taile; at 13,500 per Barr, is 135,000 Cass.' A month later, on report of the death of the King, they note that 'Cass fell from 13,500 to

[1] The 'cash' is the well-known Chinese coin with a square hole; also the coin of Annam (including Tongking). At the time of Weddell's visit to Canton in 1637 it is noted that the tael contained 1,000 'casse'; Mundy does not state if the word (a foreign term) meant the coin (Chinese *tsien*) or the decimal subdivision of the tael (Chinese *li*), but it is more probable that he meant the latter. But as the first Manchu Emperor (1644–61) inscribed his coins 'one li', it is probable that in China in 1637 and in 1680 one tael actually exchanged for 1,000 cash, the coin. In the years 1870–90 one tael exchanged for about 2,000 cash, but that was because the latter were of reduced weight, with less intrinsic value, and the Chinese have never accepted a token coinage, exchanging on its face value. In Annam in the seventeenth century the cash (coins) were of approximately the same diameter as the Chinese, but were of finer brass, and rolled or stamped thin, instead of being cast thick; the copper content did not exceed a third of the contemporary Chinese cash. In later reigns Annamese cash were often cast from a coarse brittle pewter, having still less intrinsic value.

15,000 per Barr' ; but they do not record the touch of the silver. In other years the King had 'abated on every ten Tale Plate, one thousand Cashies'.

The factors found little demand for their goods. For 1679 the Directors had provided that a total 'stock' of 70,000 reals of eight should be sent for the Tongking trade—50,000 in specie and 20,000 in goods ; Surat had, however, 'detained' a part of the supply, and Bantam could send a total of 50,000 only—30,000 in specie, 20,000 in goods. Even this proportion of goods was too great. Silk, raw and woven, formed the principal part of the 'investment' from Tongking ; and at the close of 1679 the King ordered both the Dutch and the English that next year they must each bring '25 chests of Plate to buy his Silk, as was customary in his Father's time', each chest containing 2,000 reals of eight.

It was not only the English and the Dutch who were treated in this high-handed manner. An instance is given above of the treatment of two junks of China, the suzerain power ; and Siamese ships were treated as badly. The King of Siam had made some unsuccessful ventures, but in 1682 he was induced by one Mr. Samuel Baron to venture again. He sent one junk with a cargo valued at 1,200 taels, 'but with no better success ; for what with Fees, and what is seized, the whole stock is run out. It is not for any Vessel without a great Stock to come to this Port.'

In 1682 'The French had a Ship came from Syam, not to trade butt to bring an Embassador, with a Letter and a Present from the French King to the King of Tonqueen. Their Present amounting to twelve hundred pounds sterling, genneral report sayes much more [a later note puts it at £2,000] ; w^ch^ was dd. to y^e^ King a little before his death, and found but cold acceptance ; neither did obtaine a dispatch from this present King without great charges and trouble, not being once admitted to his presence ; onely hee sent a slight answer to y^e^ King of France, and a small Present, consisteing in Rawe Silke & Tonqueen p^s^ Goods, to y^e^ value of aboute one hundred & fifty Tale.'

Well might the Company's factors emit a wail of despair. At the date of the French Ambassador's coming they wrote to the Directors : 'If yo^r^ Hono^rs^ finde noe encouragement in the expence of knowne Manufactories of this Port, in England ; from hence wee can give none. And ife you should withdrawe

this Factorie all o^r expence would be quiett lost; and truly with submission to yo^r judgements, wee cannott apprehend this trade worth following any longer.'

Tongking was, however, the only source for the supply of Chinese silks, which, raw and wrought, formed the largest part of the investment by that factory. For English woollens the prices given were low, below cost price, so the factors declared; and those prices were obtained only after long haggling. For perpetuanoes [lastings], for example, the King at first offered 8 taels, and after six days' bargaining agreed to pay 10 taels per piece; for broadcloth he offered from 6 taels for fourth quality green to 18 taels for first quality scarlet, per 8 Dutch ells,[1] and ultimately increased his offer to 11 and 30 taels respectively. For the return investment the Directors ordered the purchase of 4,600 pieces of silk woven goods and 30 of velvets, which cost 2,342,200 cash; this money had been received from the King's treasurer at the rate of 1,480 per tael, while the price current was 1,580. In 1679 the investment ordered was 18,500 pieces of silks and 300 of velvets, besides 40 bales of raw silk; the quantities and prices were:

9,500	pieces	Pelangs	at 2,300 cash each
5,000	,,	Showes	,, 1,300 ,,
2,000	,,	Peniascoes	at 5,500 cash each
2,000	,,	Thea Gawes (Gauze)	at 1,350 cash each
300	,,	Velvets	,, 5,500 ,,

40 bales Raw Silk, at 20 Weight for one.

The factors provided the investments required, but more and more with specie and less with goods. In 1679 they informed the Presidency: 'Most of the old Debts are desperate. And so some will annually be, since we are compelled to have to do with the King and his Court . . . the Persons who are Debtors to us are such that we dare not deny them.'

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, notwithstanding the desponding reports of the factors and the disappointed hopes of the Directors, the factory was kept going until 1697, when, as the Court informed the King, the war with France necessitated the use of large ships, capable of defending themselves—too large to cross the bar at the mouth of the river of Tongking.

[1] English ell = 45 inches; Flemish ell averaged 27·4 inches.

IV

TAIWAN AND AMOY

The first mention of Taiwan in the English records is in a letter, dated Battavia February 24, 1623 (1624), addressed to 'The Honourable Company per the Ship *Royal Anne*':

> The China Ambassadors at present here have offered to Trade with the Dutch, if they will leave Pescadores, and reside at Taywan; but have as yet no answer. The said Ambassador offereth us Trade, likewise, at Taywan, if we will go thither: wherefore you may be pleased to send your advice, for our direction in this business.

Though the hold of the Ming emperors on Taiwan was slight, the Dutch accepted this offer and left the Pescadores, occupying the large, rich, and malarial island which the Portuguese had named Formosa. The first entry of the English was nearly fifty years later, ten years after the expulsion of the Dutch.

In 1671 the pinkey *Bantam* and the ship *Crown* had been sent to open a factory at Taiwan, and had been lost at sea on the way to that place; and in June 1672 the ships *Return* and *Experiment* had been sent for Taiwan and Japan,[1] together with the junk *Camel* to pilot them. At Taiwan, after trying for nearly a year, they found the conditions unfavourable for trade, since the King had taken for himself the monopoly of the trade in sugar and hides. The *Experiment* consequently shipped her goods on the *Return*, and sailed back for Bantam, but was taken prize by the Dutch in the Straits of Banka. The *Return* proceeded to Japan, arriving at Nagasaki on June 29, 1673, and after having, for two months, made ineffectual attempts to reopen the trade with Japan, she left on August 28th, with an assurance from the Japanese authorities that no Dutch ship should be allowed to follow her for two months—for England and the Netherlands were again at war.

> On their getting to sea the Factors and Officers held a consultation respecting the place to which they should proceed, and it being agreed —that the difficulties experienced at Tywan rendered that speculation

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 36.

unprofitable—that the prohibition by the Spaniards, of trade to Manilla, made it unsafe to attempt that port—& that because of the Dutch naval power, either to return to Bantam, or to proceed to Surat through the Straits of Malacca and along the Coast of India, was hazardous—It was therefore resolved to make for the Port of Macao, at which, from the amity between the King and the Portuguese, it was hoped at least, the Ship and Cargo would be safe, and the prospect of finding a market for their Goods not improbable.

The *Return* arrived at Macao on September 13th. The Portuguese were friendly and allowed the cargo to be landed while the ship was careened; but they restricted all trade to the Portuguese merchants, and for ready money only. The ship had no specie on board, since it had been expected that quantities of woollens could be sold at Taiwan and in Japan; and she remained in Macao for eight months, the factors selling small quantities of goods to pay running expenses, vainly trying to obtain prices good enough to warrant them in selling goods for trade, and absolutely barred from any investments by the high prices demanded for the small quantities of Chinese produce offered. In May 1674 they asked permission to bring the ship in under the protection of the forts, in case the Dutch, with the change of the monsoon, should come in on them; but it was refused. Having been advised from Bantam that 'as yet we had no piece with the Dutch', and that they must act as seemed best to them, they asked permission to leave. In a consultation of August 6th, after reciting the many causes which made it impossible to obtain any trade, and especially that 'our Seamen having been shipped upon this Voyage upwards of three Years, there will be danger of their mutinying if kept out longer', it was resolved to re-embark their goods and leave Macao, and to 'make our passage [to India] by the next Monsoon'; it was also decided that they should 'by the way endeavour to truck with the Chinamen at Lampakaw'.[1]

[1] Lampaco, as it is called in English books (sometimes Lampakaw), has never had its position identified. The name was evidently taken in by English sailors, through the eye and not the ear, from the Portuguese Lampaçao. The Chinese name, according to J. R. Morrison's *Chinese Commercial Guide*, is Langpehtsao. He says, 3rd edition, 1848, p. 66:

'Between Ta Wongkum (Montanha) and Samtsaou is the entrance to the Broadway. Here we look in vain for the particular island which, under the name of Lampaçao (Langpihtsaou), was once, for several years, the residence of many Portuguese merchants. None of the islands lying outside, between

The ship left Macao Road on September 5th; and on the 14th, then riding between Samtsao and Montanha, the order was given to 'sail to Lampakaw'. This was described as 'the only place of free Trade amongst those Islands'; and there, in more than two months, they 'sold their Pepper in truck', but of their English goods they were 'not able to sell above eleven pieces of Cloth in truck, and that at poor rates, while they had been forced to take such Goods as they could get at dear rates'. On November 26, 1674, two and a half years after her

St. John's and Montanha, afford sufficient shelter against all winds; and we must therefore seek for it within the entrance of the Broadway. It is strange that a place where, in 1560, there were said to have been 500 or 600 Portuguese constantly dwelling, should now be entirely lost to the recollection of the living no further from it than Macao. The island was occupied by the Portuguese in 1542; in 1554 the trade was concentrated there; in 1557 Macao began to rise into notice; and 1560 is the latest date at which we find any mention made of Lampaçao; but it was then, apparently, a flourishing place.'

But inside the Broadway there is no trading mart to which a deep ship could ascend. In 1664 the E. I. C. ship *Surat* was expelled from Macao, and, after 'riding between Samtsaou and Montanha' for 14 days, she 'sailed away for *the Lampakaw Islands*', and tried to trade there. In 1683 the E. I. C. ship *Carolina* went from Macao 'to Lantao', mooring very certainly in the Kapsingmun anchorage, and, on leaving Lantao, she 'sailed out from the islands', and arrived the next day (Sept. 18th), after sailing probably 30 to 36 hours, and 'came to anchor in the harbour of Lampeco'. There, according to the diary of her supercargoes, they did some trading; but the existing copy of the ship's log ends on Sept. 3rd. In 1684 the ship *Loyal Adventure* was dispatched from London under alternative orders, for Mindanao, or for 'the Nankin & Lampeco Islands'. The word Islands was apparently used very loosely. Sailing from Macao to 'the Nankin Islands' she put in at Amoy, headed off by the NE. monsoon. These three are the sole references to Lampaçao in the English Company's records. There is no trace of such a port either in Dalrymple's charts (based on old charts of dates from 1600 to 1800), or in Roxburgh's charts (about 1810).

Talking of the mystery with Captain T. J. Eldridge recently, we lighted on Lampienchau on the western shore of Bias Bay, and near it Outau. The latter place Captain Eldridge remembered well, having often cruised in those waters, and he reported it as a busy centre for smuggling salt and opium in quite recent times; he also spoke of the seafaring people of those waters as being always prone to smuggling and piracy. It was there that, in 1849 and 1850, Commander Dalrymple Hay in three actions destroyed 94 pirate ships, mounting nearly 1,800 guns. Captain Eldridge remembered also a broad highway, 'the widest and best kept in all South China', leading from Outau to Tamshuihü, thronged with porters carrying goods. From Tamshuihü the map shows a river flowing to Waichowfu, whence the North River provides an easy passage to Whampoa, and so to Canton. Outau is, in fact, a smuggling back-door to Canton.

What Outau was in the reign of Kwanghsü, its neighbour Lampienchau, only two miles away, may well have been in the reign of Kanghi and under the Mings; and this seems to be the Lampaçao to which the Portuguese traded in the sixteenth century.

H. B. Morse in *Journal, North-China Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1921.

departure from Bantam, the *Return* left Lampaçao for Bangkok in Siam, hoping to sell their English woollens in that tropical country. And so another venture to Macao failed of success.

The Tongking factory, though working under many disadvantages, provided the silks required for the English market; but the Company continued to cast a longing eye on Taiwan as an entrepôt for an indirect trade with China. The King, Koxinga, a Ming partisan, still held Formosa against the Manchus, and with it he held Amoy and a fluctuating extent of country along the southern coast of Fukien. To maintain his forces and administration he had taken into his own hands a monopoly of the principal articles of produce of the island, sugar and hides; and combining a trade with Amoy and the adjacent parts of Fukien on the one hand, and with Japan (to which he sent fifteen junks annually) on the other, he so much engrossed the output of Formosa, that a promise to the Company's factors to let them have a third of the output at current prices seemed to them to hold out little promise for the future. Filled with greater hope, however, and peace having been re-established between England and the Netherlands, Bantam sent the *Flying Eagle* there in July 1675, two years after the departure of the *Return*, three years after her arrival. The ship was welcomed, when it was announced that she had brought guns and ammunition for sale to the King, and that valuable presents would also be made to the 'King and his Grandees'. The factors were assured that they would receive every facility for trade in any part of China that the King might conquer; they found a ready market for their stock; and they obtained a fair cargo of native produce. They took an order for brass guns, 'for which he would pay their weight in copper, with an allowance for their manufacture'; but on this voyage no copper (imported from Japan) was to be obtained, since the King required all his supply for casting guns and minting cash, except a quantity given in payment of outstanding debts. The ship was asked, and in some measure forced, to lend two gunners to instruct the artillerymen against the Manchus; and the factors were offered a permit to take her to Amoy, but they feared that ship and men might be impressed. The greater part of the outstanding debts, 'principally due from the great

Mandarins', they were unable to collect; but they sent to Bantam two licences for the Company's ships to trade to Amoy in the next year.

The Presidency of Bantam lost no time in seizing the opportunity offered at Amoy, and in 1676 a ship was sent there and a factory established. The Company now, for the first time, had a footing on Chinese soil;[1] but it was at a port which was not under the imperial administration, and was shut off from China and its products at the point of contact between two contending armies. At the very outset the new factory received two crushing blows. In April 1677 its superintending office at Bantam had been crippled by the murder by Javanese of its chief and three others of its staff; and before this, in February, Koxinga, the overlord of Amoy, had suffered a serious reverse.

The King of Tywan, who had made considerable Conquests on the Mainland of China, including several Cities, and whose Army amounted to near 200,000 men, is through the rebellion of a part of his Army for want of pay, finally compelled to abandon his Conquests. He fled from Chiangchew (Changchowfu), the City of his Residence, and settled upon the Isle of Emoy, where he now resides and defends it by his Fleet. His dominions in China are now confined to the circle of Emoy and some adjacent Islands; which, with the Island of Formosa, are all that remain to him.

The factors wrote in great depression; they had based great hopes on the continued success of Koxinga, but now they saw themselves shut off from any part of the mainland. They sent to Taiwan for a cargo which had been promised them—700 chests of copper, 500 piculs of tutenague, and 1,000 gold Copangs,[2] all apparently coming from the Japan trade; but of sugar and other Formosan produce they obtained none, as the prices were too high. In the result the ship *Formosa* was dispatched to Bantam on December 24, 1677, not fully laden, with a cargo invoiced at 13,499 taels; her stock arriving had been 4,778 taels in reals of eight, and 2,110 taels in lead.

[1] It must be remembered that Formosa (Taiwan) never had been Chinese until Koxinga occupied it in 1661, and was not incorporated in the Chinese Empire until the Emperor Kanghi took possession of it in 1683.

[2] Koban or Kobang, a Japanese gold coin, then weighing about 200 grains, with an intrinsic value greater than its face value as currency. At the Indian mints it turned out a value of 30 to 36 shillings; in Japan it cost the Dutch from 20 to 26 shillings.

The Bantam Presidency had also entertained high hopes. It had proposed to the Directors to settle factories at Foochow and Chuenchow; but under date of October 5, 1677, they expressed a fear lest factories there might offend the King of Taiwan and prejudice their trade at Amoy, and they again ordered that the establishment of a factory at Canton should not be lost sight of; soon after they were reprimanding Bantam for failing to report a successful venture of four Dutch vessels at Foochow. In 1678 (the orders were received at Amoy on September 2nd) Amoy was made the chief factory for China, with Taiwan subordinated to it. In that year it was ordered that 12,000 pieces of China silks were to be bought in Amoy for shipment to England. For 1679 Bantam was to have two ships, with a total of 1,150 tons, taking a stock of £11,166 in goods and £37,014 in bullion; from this stock Bantam was to send 20,000 dollars in goods and 30,000 dollars in specie to Amoy in two local vessels, of which one was to take 9,000 pieces of silks and 10 chests of raw silk direct to England, while the rest of the stock was to be invested in gold and copper for Surat.

In the same season, however, by the ship *Expectation* direct from England to Tongking, the Directors sent out a stock of 10,000 pieces of eight in goods and 40,000 in specie, together with an additional factor, who, 'having been bred a Mercer, and so qualified for the Silk Trade', was counted on to develop the Company's trade in silks from Tongking, as a second string to their bow; and from Tongking they expected 300 pieces of velvets, 1,000 of satins, and 35,000 of other silks.

The Taiwan factory was closed in 1681, only an agent being left there to wind up affairs and get in old debts. In 1687 Koxinga had again invaded the mainland, and at the outset met with some success; but in November 1679 the Amoy factors wrote:

> The affairs of this King are in a very dubious and unsettled condition, having no small Game to play to defend themselves against the Tartars, who continually alarme them; and his own Treasure being expended, he dayly presses on his Subjects for supplys, and all he can raise is not sufficient to satisfy his Army, who are much dissatisfyed; so that we are not only in danger of y^e^ Enemy but of Insurrections amongst his owne Souldiers for want of pay.

This was a case in which the English had put their money on the wrong horse, in supplying Koxinga with arms, while the Dutch had been led by circumstances to support the Manchu Emperor.

For the season 1681 the ship *Barnardiston* was dispatched from London in August 1680, taking to Amoy the following stock:

	£	£
50,000 Dollars [1]		12,500
72 bales of Broadcloth [432 pieces]	6,953	
20 bales of Rashes [? 400 pieces]	940	
18 bales of Perpetuanoes [360 pieces]	1,104	
200 barrels of Gunpowder	700	
6 chests of Firelock Musketts	300	
200 pigs of Lead [abt. 480 piculs]	426	
6 chests of Canary [wine]	27	
		10,450
		£22,950

This contained an unusually large proportion of goods, but the Company was always pressing its factors to 'vend' larger quantities of English manufactures. With this stock an investment was to be made in '[Japanese] Copper, Sugar and other Gruff Goods' for Surat; in 'Fine Goods' for England, viz. 8,000 pieces of silks, or more if to be procured, 10 chests of raw silk, 1,000 oz. of musk, and 'to the value of 2000 Dollars in Japan Skreens and Japan & China rarities'; any 'overplus of Stock' was to be invested in gold for Surat.

In August 1681 the Directors dispatched from London for the Amoy trade of 1682 four ships:

Kent, 130 tons, 12 guns.
Oaklander, 150 tons, 14 guns.
Chyna Merchant, 170 tons, 14 guns.
Amoy Merchant, 310 tons, 28 guns.

With these ships they sent a stock of £14,599 in goods and £28,000 in treasure. As part of the return investment they

[1] The term 'dollar' appears here for almost the first time in the records, the only exception being when the factors of the *Surat* in 1664 'proffered 1,000 Doll., deposite for our Ship's measure, y^n^ 1200; and after came a thousand five hundred Rya^s^'. From 1600 to this time it is always 'real of eight', and after 1675 occasionally 'piece of eight' (p §), i. e. the peso duro of eight reals. The coin was, however, the same, that known through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the Spanish dollar, constituting the medium of international exchange in China until 1857. It contained 416 grains of silver 900 fine, with an intrinsic value of 4*s.* 2*d.* The Company invoiced it at 4*s.* 6*d.* until 1619, and thereafter at 5*s.*, the difference being the cost of laying down the coin.

ordered Bantam to 'send home annually fine Tea to the value of 1000 Dollars'. They also informed Bantam that they would that year have sent a ship to Canton, but for a doubt whether the Presidency had 'a sufficient Chop or Phyrmand from the Vice-King, or supream person in authority at Canton, for the security of our Ships, Estate, & Servants'; and the uncertainty lest the Chinese at Amoy, offended at the Company's settling a factory in the Tartar dominion, might cause 'great prejudice, hazard, or loss of our affaires at Amoy'.

In 1681 Koxinga was expelled from Amoy, and the Company lost its opening there. The Bantam Presidency was then authorized to use its discretion in sending the four ships to 'some other Port or Ports equally fitt for the vending of English Manufactures'; Canton, the Lampaçao Islands, and Taiwan were suggested, with special stress on the importance of settling a factory at Canton.

War again broke out with the Netherlands, and on August 30, 1682, the Dutch took Bantam. The English factors were driven out by the King of Bantam, and took refuge with the Dutch at Batavia; they were sent back to Bantam, but they had suffered so much from their hardships that, of five factors, 'two died assoone as returned; for my ꝑte, I [Mr. Hodges] was in soe weake a condetion as nott able to rite a line to any friend I had'. In April 1683 the Directors had been informed of this loss, and of the loss of the ship *Johanna*, captured by the Dutch when outward bound to Bengal 'with her Stock of 70,000£ most Bullion'; and the Company was, at the same time, crippled in its finances 'by an extraordinary and unparraled fail of credit in all the publiq fonds of this Citty [London], which hath caused the failure of divers of the Goldsmiths in Lumbard St.' These occurrences caused the Directors to restrict their operations in all quarters; and, in the field of China, trade came to a standstill through the warlike operations around Amoy.

From his base at Amoy the Emperor Kanghi dispatched a fleet of 600 junks against Formosa. In two naval battles, on July 1 and 7, 1683, they defeated the Formosans, and occupied Penghu, one of the Pescadores Islands, forming the key of Taiwan. The King of Taiwan, Kotsang, son of Koxinga, then, on August 22, offered to surrender his realm to the discretion of the conqueror;

this was accepted on the 30th by Shilang, the Emperor's Vice-Admiral and Vice-General; and, the Emperor's mandate having been received confirming Shilang's action, the King of Taiwan and his court, on September 28th, 'Tartarnized,' i. e. shaved their heads, except for the pendant queue behind; the ex-King was taken to Peking, and was created a duke of the Empire. An incidental result of the conquest was that several of the Dutch, who had been captured in 1661 and kept prisoners since, were now released by the Manchus.

The factory at Amoy was now in a state of suspended animation, while that at Taiwan was again restored to life; but the time of the factors at Taiwan was occupied chiefly in paying bribes to Shilang (called in the records Sego and Secoe) and his officers, in resisting the exactions of the Manchu soldiers, in trying vainly to recover their outstanding debts, and in seeking for the permission of the Manchu officials to withdraw the factory. All these difficulties at Amoy and at Taiwan made the Company more desirous of obtaining an opening at Canton; and the ship *China Merchant*, not having access to Amoy, was sent to the 'Maccao Islands', but, owing to the intrigues of the Portuguese, could get no trade from Canton, and sailed away, arriving at Surat on March 15, 1682 (1683).

V

AMOY, 1683–1689

The ship *Carolina* was dispatched from London in October 1682, with instructions to try to settle a factory at Canton. As a special inducement the supercargoes [1] were authorized by the Directors to ' propound our sending them 4 or 6 Ships of War, to serve them in their Wars against any but European Nations ' ; to be paid for at the rate of 12*d.* per ton per diem for a period of twelve months ; but if for six months only, the rate was to be 18*d.* per ton per diem. If excluded by the Portuguese from Macao, they were to go to Tempa Cabrado (Taipa) [2] and anchor there. They would there be visited by the merchants and officials of Canton, ' in negotiating with whom, you must be very wise and circumspect, they being a very cunning, deceitfull people '. If they failed to obtain a trade at Canton, they might try at Foochow ; failing that, they might venture to Amoy or Taiwan : ' But while you are among the Tartars you must not speak of your going to Tywan, or any other place in the Chineses Dominion.'

The *Carolina* arrived at Taipa on June 21, 1683, and the supercargoes went at once to pay their respects to the Captain-General ; he received them with courtesy, but informed them that ' he could not grant us any liberty of Trade at this place, without a special order from y^e^ Vice-Roy of Goa, unless he would run y^e^ hazard of being sent home in irons a prisoner, and losing his head '. He further declared that there was not enough trade in Macao to provide the ship with the tenth of a cargo, so strict was the control and so heavy the exactions of the Manchus, on whose licence must depend any trade for the *Carolina*. While at Taipa the ship was visited by Manchu officials, who ' came

[1] This is the first use in the records of the term ' supercargo ' to indicate the Company's commercial agents on board ship. The four supercargoes on the *Carolina* constituted the Council ; its members were referred to individually as ' the eldest of Council ', ' the third of Council ', &c.

[2] Typa Quebrada, giving shelter to the Taipa anchorage about six miles from Macao, in which Weddell had remained through the month of July 1637.

down on four or five Tartar warr boats'; but no traders came near them.

On their arrival at Taipa the supercargoes had been assured by the Portuguese Captain-General that he had been informed that they were Dutch, and consequently enemies; but he had accepted their explanations. The Manchu officials declared that 'the Portuguese had sent up to Canton y^t^ we were a Dutch ship, and how they desired they would send some warr boats to force us away'; and they too accepted the supercargoes' explanation that they were English, but they said that the Emperor was 'much enraged against y^e^ English & Hollanders, for y^t^ they doe yearly assist y^e^ King of Tywan with ammunition & powder to fight against him'.

A few days later other Manchu officials came with 'fifteen sayl of Tartar warr boats', and ordered them to leave Taipa. They weighed anchor on July 9th, and, persuaded by a 'small Chyna Ship' that they might find a clandestine trade at the Island of Lantao,[1] they proceeded thither. Arriving on the 11th they obtained some trade at once, being permitted to select from goods carried down from Canton to be laden on Chinese junks for Japan. On the 14th they sent the Chinese traders back to Canton to bring down selected goods especially for themselves; but they did not get their hands on these, for the Chinese were intercepted by Manchu war junks, of which seven anchored alongside the *Carolina* on the 16th. On the 18th came other 'Warr boats & some great men from Canton', who informed the supercargoes that 'a settlement or residence at Canton or Hockshew [Foochow] . . . would never be consented unto', and that 'there should no European ever have a Settlement in any of their places of Trade or Trust, nor be suffered so much as to come into any of their Cyties'.

Two months the ship remained at Lantao in idleness, but undisturbed, and then she was ordered to return to Taipa. The

[1] Lantao, a large island due east from Macao, and west from Hongkong; now, since 1898, included in the territory of the British Colony of Hongkong. The record gives 'Lanto, aleus Backelow;' and later it notes the ship's return to 'ankor in our old station at Backelow'. As it was July, the season of the south-west monsoon and of typhoons, the anchorage was presumably on the northern side, possibly between Lantao and The Brothers, more probably in the throat of Kapsingmun; and this is indicated by the ship's log, which is extant.

ship left at once, but, while on the way, an order overtook her to return to Lantao, where the supercargoes were told that they might go to 'Lampeco', and that 'we might stay here untill the bottom of our Ship did drop out, before we should have trade from any ꝑsons of their countrey'. The ship left again on September 17th in company with 'three small Ships and six Junks', and 'standing out frō yᵉ Islands', met three Dutch ships which reported having sighted a great Manchu fleet sailing from Amoy to Taiwan.[1] On September 18th 'we came to ankor in yᵉ Harbour of Lampeco, where our fleet consisting of thirteen sayl of Ships & Junks; one of wᶜʰ is a Pink from Maderas, belonging to yᵒʳ Hono. Agents & Councell at Fort St. George'.

At first the supercargoes had some hope of a trade at Lampaçao; but they soon learned that fresh orders had been sent to 'yᵉ Chief men of Canton not to ꝑmit any trade to yᵉ Europeans'; and, seeing no prospect of trade, they wrote that they were on the point of leaving, and 'this we send by yᵉ way of yᵉ Fort,[2] but feare it will not arrive there time enough to goe wᵗʰ this year's Shipping; soe believe it may come by yᵉ Post overland'.

In the result the supercargoes sent to England Chinese goods which had cost them 19,246 dollars, 'all whᶜʰ is dear bought, & yᵗ with ready money . . . but have made great shift to put off upwards of 30 pces of fine Clōth at 100 Tale ꝑ peece'.

The ship *Delight* was dispatched from London in December 1682, with orders to join the *Carolina* if possible, and otherwise to follow the *Carolina's* instructions. She called at Achin, and after arriving within 40 leagues of Macao on September 21st was forced by the monsoon to return to Bangkok; at the latter place in March 1684 information was given by those on a Portuguese ship from Macao that the *Carolina* had 'traded at Lampacao Islands', but had left at the beginning of November. On May 16, 1684, the *Delight* arrived a second time near Macao, but, finding the Taipa anchorage too shallow, she remained farther out. Within six days the supercargoes came to the conclusion that no trade could be done at Macao, and the ship sailed for Amoy, arriving there on May 26th. They were at once summoned

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 48.

[2] By the Madras pinkey, the *Saphier*, to Fort St. George. The report is addressed to the Court in London, and this is the first reference in the records to the overland mail route, probably by Bussora (Basra).

to the presence of the Governor, the chief civil magistrate, and 'Lochungia Deputy for affaires of Twalawyea Chunkung[1] in his absence being now at Hocksheu [Foochow]', to whom they explained that they had come to Amoy on the personal invitation of 'Twalawyea Chunkung', whom they had met at Bangkok. The next day officers who came on board to demand particulars of the cargo, intimated that 'the Mandarins before whom they were the previous night, expected Presents'. The supercargoes accordingly sent presents to 'Chu Toyea',[2] the chief civil magistrate, and to Euchongia, the Governor;[3] these officials expressed their gratification, 'with promise of assisting us in our affayres'. As the supercargoes considered Lochungia to be a smaller personage, they sent him a much smaller present; but he remonstrated, declaring that he was 'in the confidence of Twalawyea Chunkung, and that all their business would pass through his hands'; and they gave him a present equal to those of the others. Chu Toyea also informed them that it would be necessary to 'make a present to Boee, Viceroy of Hockshue, & another to Chunkung Twalawyea'. These they took to a conference the next day with the officials; and 'all business with these Mandarins being transacted through their Secretarys, and success depending on their favor, they were obliged to fee the principal of them'.

On June 5th, at a similar conference, the contents of a letter from Foochow were communicated: 'they were willing wee should enjoy a trade here; but wee had done very ill in bringing

[1] In these voyages to Amoy it is difficult to decipher names or titles. The persons may have been Manchu or Chinese; the names may have been given in the mandarin Chinese of the officers and soldiers of the Manchu garrison, or they may have been pronounced in the Amoy dialect, or in the Canton dialect used by the interpreters; and the romanization of the day was vague. Twalawyea is in Pekinese Talaoyeh, His Honour; Chunkung or Chooncoon or Choongcon is the designation of his office, Tsiangkün or Chiangchün, 'Tartar-General'. This high officer appears to have been more ambulatory and mobile in 1684, than he was in later years when he was fixed in Foochow. He is elsewhere styled 'General and Governor of the Militia', and by Hamilton 'General of 10,000 men'.

[2] If Canton dialect, probably Chu Taiyăn, His Excellency Chu; if Amoy, Chu Twaiyeh, i.e. Chu Talaoyeh. He is described as the 'upper Ponchu'.

[3] Amoy was not the provincial capital, and 'Governor' cannot mean the Governor of Fukien, but the supreme local authority, superior to the 'chief civil magistrate'; probably military, certainly in 1684 Manchu. His name Euchongia in modern romanization Yu-chung-ya or Yu-chun-chia or Yu-tsun-ka.

4 things serving for warr—viz^{t} Brass guns, Musquetts, Gunpowder & Lead, & desired to know upon w^{t} acco^{t} wee brought y^{m}—whether to present the Emperour?' This question surprised the supercargoes, 'doubting it would terminate in some ill'; and they represented humbly that the Company was a body of traders, and could not afford to give such expensive presents, but sent out these, like other English manufactures for sale, 'where we suppose y^{t} they may be acceptable, as at present wee thought they mought be to his Imperiall Majesty in his warrs against the Rebells of Tywan;' but, if the Emperor did not require them, they requested permission to carry them back again.

Thereupon the officials assumed an appearance of great wrath; they expressed their suspicion that the arms had been intended for the 'Tywaners', and declared that good subjects needed no arms for their protection, while evil rebels must not be supplied with them; and that 'if wee denyed to present y^{m}, wee hazarded our whole Shipp, or at least after being long deteined here, to be sent away without Trade now, or for the future'; and they 'wondered y^{t} wee should stick at soe small a thing, when not only our advantage, but alsoe our security consists in itt'. The supercargoes made such defence as they could, and obtained exemption for the lead, as it 'mought be applyed to other uses besides warrfare'; but otherwise all they could obtain was a reservation for the protection of the ship on her homeward voyage, being allowed to retain 6 out of 30 brass guns, 30 out of 250 muskets, and 50 out of 150 barrels of powder.

A month elapsed, with no advance towards trade, before, on June 27th, Twalawyea Chunkung returned to Amoy from Foochow. He first induced the supercargoes to change their interpreter; on this it may be observed that, in Oriental affairs, a negotiator had better provide his own interpreter than accept one provided by his adversary. He comforted them further, by assuring them that the Emperor's answer, when it should come, would assuredly give them liberty to trade and to 'resettle' their factory.

The supercargoes spent the whole month of July in waiting patiently, and in squabbling among themselves and with the chief of the Taiwan factory, who had come over to Amoy.

On August 7th, the ship being very leaky, they asked permission to land her cargo into the former factory, in order to careen her. The officials made objections—one could not decide without the others; none could decide without the Emperor's authorization; they doubted that the ship leaked, and sent officers to examine—but four days later the new interpreter came with the proposal that, 'if wee would give 1,100 Tales to y^e^ Mandarines, they would take itt upon themselves to give us our old Factory to live in, & permitt us to unload our Shipp into it, y^t^ she mought be halled ashore to be mended, &c^a^.' The supercargoes argued as best they could, but the only mitigation they could obtain was that 'we would pay y^m^ y^e^ sayd summe of 1,100 Tales in Goods, price curr^t^'. Before the business could go through, however, they had, 'besides his share of the 1,100 Tales', to make to a minor official, who might have blocked it, a present equal to those given to the 'Governor' and others; and, after the cargo was unloaded into the factory, a gift of cloth was made to each of three officers who supervised the transfer. After this the higher officials demanded the 1,100 taels in money; but they ultimately accepted 12 pieces of fine cloth, which the supercargoes estimated to be worth 1,600 taels.

During these days a Dutch ship, the *Chylida*, arrived from Batavia; and on September 8th the supercargoes of the *Delight* were ordered to reload their goods forthwith, as their factory was required for the accommodation of the Dutch. The supercargoes pleaded with one official after another; they sent an additional present and a petition to the 'Governor'; on his advice they sent a petition (with a present) to Poee, his superior at Foochow, representing 'the long time they had been at Emoy, and that the Monsoon was nearly spent, without their having done any business'. In the end, on October 12th, the Dutch were provided with another house; but the English had been kept in suspense all the time, with no decision on their trade. On October 18th Ityhong Tyea,[1] who had been sent from Foochow to supervise their trade, 'tooke y^e^ Chopp[2] of from y^e^ Godown[3] dores, & made Proclamation y^t^ His Imperiall

[1] A Manchu named Itihang, addressed as Ta (lao) yeh = 'Your Honour.'

[2] Chop, in general an official document duly sealed; here a sealed strip of paper pasted across the opening of a door, to seal it against unauthorized entry.

[3] Godown, a warehouse or store-house for goods.

Majesty had granted us free trade, & therefore all people mought freely come to buy or sell'. In consideration of their gift of guns, muskets, and powder, their trade was to be 'Customes free'.

So after five months of giving presents and patient waiting the supercargoes of the *Delight* saw the door opened to the promised land. The Chinese traders came promptly and made bids for their goods; but it was evident that 'they designed a monopoly, as they all offered the same prices'; and when the supercargoes complained to Chunkung, he 'ordered us to goe to a person named Limia, who was afterwards ascertained to be the head of an association of merchants who had farmed the trade with the English'. Further complaint to Chu Toyea and to Ityhong produced some relaxation, and they were able to sell their pepper at 15 taels a picul.

Chu Toyea, the chief civil magistrate, now stepped into the market and offered to buy their pepper at 10 taels a picul, paying for it in raw silk at 190 taels. The supercargoes made a counter offer of pepper at 15 taels against silk at 155 taels; but Chu Toyea threatened to stop the trade and send the ship away, so they were compelled to comply, 'none dareing so much as come nigh us till he is satisfied'; but they had 13 taels for the pepper. A few days later it was again peremptorily suggested to them that they should send further handsome presents 'to Boee Viceroy of Hockshue, Poee Chuntuck,[1] & Chunkung'; and Ityhong demanded for himself one of a considerable amount.

The Dutch meantime had become discontented with their prospects, and showed signs of an early departure. To prevent this their sails were taken on shore November 27th.

On December 7th the English supercargoes were informed that the Emperor would make satisfactory arrangements for a trade next year, but that now they could not remain longer at Amoy, and must be away within ten days. Those ten days were utilized by Chunkung in making a profitable purchase of cloth to the value of 1,000 gold kobangs;[2] by his agent in

[1] Boee and Poee must have been two of the highest officials of the province of Fukien; but Chuntuck (Cantonese Tsöngtăk, mandarin Tsungtu) means Viceroy or Governor-General. It is probable that Boee, the Viceroy, and Poee, the Chuntuck, were the same person, mentioned by different interpreters.

[2] Weight 417 oz. troy.

securing a large present for himself; and they 'had noe sooner done with this ravenous beast, than another set upon them': the new 'Governor' Chuchongia demanded presents as great in the aggregate as those given to his predecessor, and 'they were obliged to comply'.

On December 19th, being the day appointed for their departure, the supercargoes were hustled on board, and the *Delight* set sail for Surat—not for London, because of 'the quantity of Europe Goods they were obliged to bring back, and the quantity of China Goods not proper for Europe'.

The *Delight* returned to Surat with the news that 'y^e^ Tartars when they came away, invited y^m^ to return y^s^ yeare w^th^ promise y^t^ if they did, should have liberty to settle a Factory in Emoy, or any other place in y^e^ great Emperour's Dominions'. The ship *China Merchant* was thereupon, in May 1685, dispatched to Amoy, with instructions to settle a factory there; if they succeeded, they were 'to looke upon [them] selves as subordinate to y^e^ Presid^t^ & Counc^ll^ at Fort St. George [Madras].' The ship took a lading of goods, but no money 'owing to the non arrival of the Europe Ships'; but if the factors on the high seas met the ship *Williamson*, expected from Persia, they were to receive from her 16,000 five-shahee pieces or 20,000 abasses, approximately 5,000 dollars. It is not recorded that this money was received.

The *China Merchant* entered Amoy harbour on July 29, 1685, and received a cordial welcome. The factors could not obtain the old factory, as it had been converted into a Custom House; after a few days they rented suitable premises, for which 'the owner, being a Mandareen, demanded 100 Tale ℔ mensem'; but he accepted 90 taels, which the factors paid under threat that, if a house was not taken, the ship's sails and rudder would be removed. They were assured that the presents to be made would be inconsiderable; but the result did not agree with the assurance. They were promised freedom of access; but 'his tongue and his heart did not agree, for a Chinese merchant was forced out of their house by his servants'. Under authority of a 'Chop from y^e^ Mandareen' who had supplied the interpreters, no goods were to be sold except in their presence. The factors were reasonably generous with their presents, and in September

wrote to Madras that they had 'gott a grant from ye Vice-King of Hockshoe [Foochow] to have a Factory either in Emoy or Hockshoe; likewise ye Emperour has sent his Chop for all Nations to trade in his Ports'; but a month later they realized that the future was still uncertain, and were advised to sell off their goods, as they might be ordered away at short notice.

The Custom House at Amoy had been established since the departure of the *Delight*; and its officials informed the factors that all ships arriving must pay customs duty on all their cargo inward, whether sold or carried back, and on all goods bought for export. The factors held their goods back for some time, because of the low prices offered; later on, the two parties came closer in their prices, and some sales were effected. On her departure, on January 1, 1685 (1686), the ship was 'laden chock full'; she had a good investment of China goods, but also had much of her original lading. On all this duty had to be paid; the head of the Customs would make no abatement, except on two points: he was 'very favourable to us in ye BroadCloth, accounting ye peeces one with another, to be noe more yn 20 yds. cach'; and 'in ye payment of ye money he was very kind to us, exacting noe more yn 13 ℔ cent for ye overweight of his Datching,[1] wn 'tis certaine he makes ye Country Merchts allow him from 18 to 20 ℔ cent., besides their paying in fine Silver, which is 6 ℔ cent more'. The total amount of duty paid on the stock carried back was 686 taels.

On August 24, 1685, while the *China Merchant* was at Amoy, the Company's ship *Loyal Adventure* arrived outside, and anchored off the Island of Quemoy. She had been dispatched from London in November, with instructions to open a factory at Mindanao. If, owing to the lateness of the season, she was unable to make Mindanao, or if the supercargoes decided that it was not advisable to establish a factory there, she was to 'proceed to the Nankin & Lampeco Islands' and trade there. She passed Pulo Condore on July 3rd, and on the 19th, 'being in great want of refreshments [the supercargoes] determined to touch at Macao', arriving there on the 25th. There they met a Padre who 'lives wth ye Emperor, & in great favour, & in

[1] Datching (T'o-ch'êng), a steelyard, used here for the scales on which silver was weighed.

great state, is called by all Padre Tageene,[1] as much as to say a Messenger of State'. He gave them much excellent advice, and spoke of 'Nankin, from which the finest wrought and raw Silk came, and at which place was their largest Church in China'. This clearly indicated the city of Nanking on the Yangtze, a former capital of the Empire, as being the place included in 'the Nankin & Lampeco Islands'.

They left Macao on August 3rd. On the 15th, having had tempestuous weather, with three feet of water in the hold, they record: 'Our Nankeene voyage quite off, both officers and men resolved not to proceed thither, & indeed wee are a little too late'; so they made for Amoy. They opened negotiations through the supercargoes of the *China Merchant*, and were informed by them that the official 'whose bussiness it was to order all matters of Trade, said we must come in; & that we, being English, he would neither demand nor expect any Presents nor Custome, neither for what we sell nor buy, nor for what remained unsold; & that we might goe at our pleasure'.

This was too good to be true. The next day they were informed that they 'would be obliged to pay Custom for the whole Cargo whether sold or not, and that if the Ship did not enter the Port, the Custom would be extorted from' the supercargoes of the *China Merchant*, which was inside, in the power of the officials. The supercargoes of the *Loyal Adventure* felt that their hands were forced; and, though they were 'of opinion that there was foul play', they decided to go in, and entered the inner harbour on August 30th. They then received a comforting reassurance from 'Twa Lawyea Choongcon, General and Governor of the Militia', who now reappears on the scene, and at his request gave him particulars of the ship, viz.: '80 foot long,[2] 22 foot broad, 16 foot in depth, 36 guns, 100 small arms, 12 peculs powder, 60 men in all.'

It was necessary to land the cargo, in order that the ship

[1] Ta-ch'en, title applied to a high minister of state or a Kin-ch'ai Ta-ch'en (Imperial High Commissioner).

[2] It is not stated if this is the length from stem to stern, which it probably was. The alternative dimension was the length from the foremast to the mizenmast, which was adopted by the Chinese at Canton as the basis of calculation for measurement dues.

might be 'halled on shore to be mended'; and some of the cargo was sent to Kulangseu to be dried.

Sept. 18. Eighteen Pieces of Cloth having been stolen from them at Collencheue [Kulangseu] they complained to y^e 2^d of y^e Militia [the General was absent] who gave liberty to kill any y^t came to disturb them; but said if could take them alive would be much better—that he would first make him pay for all lost, & then cutt off his head.

This was very reassuring; but two days later occurred the first of those incidents which in later years were to give so much trouble at Canton. A 'Tartar from a Siam Junk' stole two hats from the tents on Kulangseu occupied by the sailors of the *Loyal Adventure*; and 'being in vain pursued by the Sailors, one of them fired, and wounded him in the leg'. The wounded 'Tartar' was removed to the *Loyal Adventure* for surgical attention, and the supercargoes waited on the '2^d of Militia' to remind him of his assurances of two days before. The officer promised that he would not report the occurrence to the Viceroy at Foochow, who would certainly order the ship to be gone; but 'afterwards he sent to know what the Captain would give him to put this affair at rest'.

Much discussion and frequent conferences were held with the Mandarins on the affair; who themselves made large demands for compromising the business; and as a further means of extortion introduced a person to act the part of father to the wounded man, who also made extravagant demands for compensation of the injury done his pretended son. At length, on December 2, it was settled by giving 200 Rs. of 8/8 to the Teong Loya [2nd of Militia] for his permission to compromise with the fictitious father,—70 Tale and 10 Pieces of Baftas [1] to the father as an indemnity for the injury received by his adopted son,—30 Dollars to the Witnesses to the discharge given by the father,[2]—30 Tale to the Servants of the Teong Loya,—and 10 Tale and two pieces of Sallampores to his Messenger.

The wounded Tartar was then, two and a half months after the infliction of his wound, removed from the *Loyal Adventure*.

The supercargoes were not able to 'dispose of either their Cloth or strong waters'. They thus had no credit for buying; and, moreover, they 'did not intend to buy any Goods till they

[1] Bafta or Baffeta, a plain muslin of Indian weaving.

[2] Witnesses to a document in China are also guarantors of the due execution of its provisions.

had reladen their Cloth, as they foresaw some trouble, upon account of the wounded man '. They had disposed of their lead ; but, before they could reload the rest of their goods, they were compelled to pay the custom. This could not be evaded ; the head of the Customs was most sympathetic, but he would be held responsible by the Emperor if he did not collect the duty, which was paid at the rate of 8 mace a picul on long cloth, and 4 mace on other goods :

	Tls.
Customs duty as per tariff	220·28
Allowance for scale at 18 per cent.	39·32
Paid to Customs officers, ' or rather forced from us ' . . .	18·45
2 pces. Sallampores given to the Waiters	3·00
	281·05

The ship sailed on December 6, 1685, having done little trade and paid out much money, but carrying the assurance that, though a factory might not be settled, still a welcome would be extended to English ships which might come to trade—presumably on the same terms as those granted to the *Delight*, the *China Merchant*, and the *Loyal Adventure*.

These three ventures to Amoy have been described in some detail, since they throw a flashlight on the Manchu's administration of a country on which he had set his conquering foot. This visit of the *Delight* was only three years after the Manchus had obtained possession of Amoy ; in the interval they used it as their base for the operations against Formosa, which had fallen to them in the previous year ; and the military power must have been predominant in 1684. At a later period the scholarly class among the conquered Chinese was drawn into the administration, and, apart from the exercise of patronage, the subject race, with its quick perception and trained mind, constituted the greater part of the civil service. In 1684, however, and at Amoy, the Manchus were in the saddle ; and the Chinese in their service, while not losing any opportunity of serving their own interests, stood in awe of those whom, for the time, they recognized as their masters. The practices on these ships must, then, be laid at the doors of the Manchu rulers at Amoy—the extortion, the unreasoning imposition of petty restrictions, the grasping at monopoly, and the final decision to send the ship away. They had not learned to impose the measurement dues which had

already been adopted by the Canton authorities, whether Ming[1] or Tsing;[2] but they supplied the defect by exacting a present of 1,100 taels (actually 1,600 taels) supplementary to the numerous other presents which they had demanded. The total exactions on the *Delight*, apart from the guns and powder presented to the Emperor, amounted to £2,000 sterling. It is to be noted that the currency for the transactions at Amoy was taels, and not dollars or reals of eight.

In September 1687 the Court announced that they 'intended to carry on the China and Tonquin trade direct from England, and under their own management', and not under the Madras Council.

In August 1687 the chartered ship *Loyal Merchant* was dispatched from London, taking 'Ten Chests[3] of Dollars, Seville & Mex° Coine, and one more will be delivered you at St. Helena, which you are to Invest for our account in China'. She was to take a cargo of pepper at Benkulen, and thence was to 'make the best of your way for the Lampacoa Islands, the Road of Canton, or Nankeen'; but if she was forced to go to any other port, 'Emoy we judge to be the best place'. She went to Amoy, but the record of her experiences there has not survived. She arrived back in London in July 1689 with a full cargo; and in September the Court informed Bombay that

> China Silk was a mere drug, and that the large quantity brought home on the *Loyal Merchant*, though good of its kind, and cheap bought, would yield but little profit.

In 1687 two ships were dispatched from Bombay to Amoy: the *London* with a stock of £10,000, the *Worcester* with a stock of £4,000 to £5,000, the greater proportion of both being in dollars. Mr. Gladman, chief supercargo of the *China Merchant* in 1685, was again chief for these ships. For the return investment

> the following Commodities were positively ordered on the Company's Account—
>
> Tea 150 Peculs, halfe in Canisters and ½ in Potts made up in Chests,

[1] Ship *London*, 1635.
[2] Ship *Surat*, 1664.
[3] On all other previous voyages a chest of dollars contained 2,000. Throughout the eighteenth century it contained 4,000.

y^e Potts to contain 1 to 4 Cattees of Tea each Pott, extraordinary good, being for England.[1]

Camphire 300 Tubbs.[2]

Gallingall 3000 lb. weight.[3]

Gelings (woven silks) 1000 Peeces.

besides whatever else Mr. Gladman might select, but ' no more Gruff Goods than sufficient for the proper ballasting the Ship '.

The tale of presents for greasing the wheels after the arrival of the ships at Amoy on August 2nd need not again be recited ; but we come, for the first time at Amoy, to ' measurage '. Of the two ships the actual measurements, in English feet, were as follows :

	London.	*Worcester.*
	ft.	ft.
Length . . .	55	40
Breadth . . .	19	14
Depth . . .	10	7

The supercargoes made repeated attempts to ascertain the rate of levy for the dues, but could get no definite information. The measurements were taken on August 7th, again on August 14th, again on October 10th, when ' he measured from y^e Talfraile to y^e Stem '. Finally, on October 19th, two and a half months after arrival, the supercargoes were informed that, including 18 per cent. allowance for scale, the measurement dues were 2,065 taels for the *London*, and 1,475 taels for the *Worcester*. Then followed a month of negotiation, with stoppage of lading the ships on the one side, and, on the other, assurances that ' any kindness shown should meet a suitable retalliation ' ; and, on November 12th, the dues were paid on the following basis :

	London.	*Worcester.*
	Tls.	Tls.
Measurement dues	750	400
20 per cent. allowance, silver and scale	150	80
Gratuity to Customs staff . . .	211	113
	1111	593

Such a settlement was pleasing to both parties, these dues being a substitute for customs duty.

[1] A previous instruction suggested that the Potts should be of tutenague. It is worth noting that the English and Dutch called the leaf after the name in the Amoy dialect, *té* or *tay*, because they first obtained it there. In Portuguese it is *cha*, the sound of the same ideograph in the Canton dialect.

[2] Camphor is a product of Formosa.

[3] Galangal or galingale, an aromatic rhizome of the Ginger family.

Two weeks after the arrival of the ships at Amoy occurred the first recorded instance of extra-territorial jurisdiction over British subjects in China.

One of the Sailors being drunk, got into the Custom house during the night, & broke open a lock where concerns of ye Emperor's lay: which if done by a Native would have been punished with instant death. To accommodate the business [the supercargoes] went to the Cong-Po,[1] who was kind & civill, & all he desired was a due punishmt might be given to him by ourselves according as, in our opinion, ye crime meritted; wch was inflicted in Publick view ashoare by 100 Stripes wth a Catt of nine Tails & Pickle, to their satisfaction.

While the *London* and the *Worcester* were in Amoy, there were two other English ships there from Madras, the *St. George* and the *Moulsford*. The four left Amoy in company on December 6, 1687.

The *Caesar* from Bombay was at Amoy from July to December 1688, together with the *Rebecca* from Madras and the *Loyal Merchant* from England; the trade of the port was 'as currant as formerly'. In 1689 the Company's ship *Princess* traded to Amoy. Her supercargoes reported that the officials were more obstructive and grasping than usual, and the exactions heavier; and they advised

that there is noe other way to bring them to better tearms, but either to divert the trade to Limpo [Ningpo] or Canton, or else to forbear some years; whereby the want of our Shipps may reduce them to a juster usuage and commerce.

But their principal grievance was the competition of the ship *James*, 'a priviledged Shipp out of England', which completely spoiled their market. When they remonstrated with her merchant and 'desired him to take care not to ruine the trade of this place', he made answer that 'he did not expect to come any more, & he did not care what became of the Trade for the future, if he could doe his busieness; he had £30,000 in the hands of the Merchants, for which he had not received £1,000 worth of Goods'.

When the investment by the *Princess* reached London, the Court complained that

Trade hath been much overlaid of late, and must be declined for a while to recover its reputation. Lacq'd ware of Tonqueen & China

[1] Kungpu, the Commissioner for Foreign Trade.

are great druggs, & so is Thea, except it be superfine, & comes in pots, tubs or chests . . . The Custom upon Thea here [in England] is above five shillings ℔ pound, whereas a mean sort of Thea will not sell for above two shillings or two shillings sixpence.

While the English thus had their troubles at Amoy, the Dutch were in little better case.

1689, Nov. 27. The Dutch at Emoy have for a considerable time been prisoners in their own house, and not suffer'd to stirr out, but are now at liberty; and had a few days previous contracted with the Merchants for the sale of all their Goods except Cloth, which they intended to carry away with them.

VI

THE COMPANY'S SUPERCARGOES

Two hundred years ago the supercargo (supra cargo) was an important person on a ship trading to the Indies. The ship went exploring to new countries; there were no banks of exchange, and her owners had no correspondents in foreign ports; they loaded on the ship what was required, in goods or in money, to buy a cargo of the products of the foreign country; and, as they could not go in person, they must have a representative on board who was qualified to sell his 'stock', to exchange his money for the currency of the country, and to buy his 'investment' of such quality and at such prices that the commodities could be sold at a profit on the ship's return to its home port. Besides this mercantile qualification, he must be capable of dealing with Principalities and Powers of mundane rank; in one part the principal trader might be the king of the country—such a trader was the King of Tongking; in another he might be the admiral commanding the naval defences—as at Mindanao in 1686; or the general commanding the garrison—as at Amoy in 1684; in another the merchants with whom he must trade were only the commercial representatives of the highest officials—as at Canton in 1699—or one merchant might have the Imperial commission to monopolize the trade with foreign ships—as at Chusan, Amoy, and Canton in 1702–4. The supercargo must have diplomatic ability to deal with all such extraordinary situations, not simply the courage to resist extortionate demands, but the skill to conduct a trade notwithstanding that such demands were made.

The first requirement for a supercargo on English ships trading to China was a knowledge of Portuguese. For over a century from 1517, the only European ships to visit China were Portuguese, and their language became, to some extent, the lingua franca of the coast. The Hollanders settled in Taiwan (Formosa) in 1624, and traded thence to ports in Fukien; they took

interpreters from the Chinese at Batavia who spoke Dutch; and the French found everywhere friendly missionaries who could interpret for them. The English, coming first in 1637, could have no communication with the Chinese except through an interpreter who knew both Portuguese and Chinese. This was sometimes an untrustworthy Chinese who could speak Portuguese; sometimes a low-class Portuguese who could speak Chinese; more commonly a half-breed, who had acquired the one tongue from his father, and the other from his mother. Under these conditions selling a piece of cloth or buying a bale of silk required only ordinary business acumen; but the disentanglement of difficulties, such as befell every ship, demanded the greatest diplomatic ability in the supercargoes; and the absence of that ability, and even of honesty and loyalty, in the interpreters made the difficulties of the supercargoes almost insurmountable.

From about 1690 the English ships obtained much friendly advice and help, in their more serious difficulties, from the French priests. The cordial relations between these priests and the English East India Company were recognized on both sides. The priests were frequently given a free passage to Europe in the Company's ships; and when the persecution initiated by the Emperor Yungcheng in 1724 drove them from their churches at all places except Canton, Père de Goville deposited the sum of 10,000 pagodas (£4,500) with the English Company in London, on condition that the Company's agents should pay 600 pagodas a year to the priests in Canton. From about 1715 the Chinese merchants themselves learned the curious patois known as 'pidgin English', which thereafter became the lingua franca of the China trade.

Selling the 'stock' carried out from England required but little ability. The law required that not less than one-tenth of the stock carried by each ship from England should consist of goods 'the growth, produce, or manufacture of the Kingdom', and until the middle of the eighteenth century no ships going to China could dispose of more than that proportion of English goods. Lead was 'as good as money', and each ship took usually from 40 to 60 tons of it; woollen goods were sold with difficulty, without profit, and in small quantities; and China asked for

nothing else that was English. Sometimes, but less often as time went on, ships from England went, on the way out, to Sumatra (Benkulen) or to Borneo (Banjarmassin) and loaded from 50 to 100 tons of pepper for sale in China. Generally speaking, however, at the period we are now describing nine-tenths of each ship's stock consisted of silver sent from England.

The export from England of English silver coins was strictly prohibited. The silver sent was sometimes, but not often in bars; almost invariably it was in minted coins. In the order of frequency they were:

Pillar dollars, ryals of eight, pieces of eight: minted at the Royal Mint of Seville; current in the China trade for three centuries; 95 touch, of the Chinese standard.

Mexico dollars: minted at the Viceroyal Mint of Mexico; from 1855 the ordinary currency of the treaty ports of South China; 94 touch.

Duccatoons: minted by the Mint of Venice; 96 touch.

French crowns: minted by the Royal Mints of France; 95 touch if bearing three crowns on reverse, otherwise 93 or 92 touch.

Rixdollars: not stated if from Scandinavian or German mints; 90 touch.

These were usually packed in chests containing each about 4,000 coins, weighing net 290 lb. 8 oz. troy = 3,488 oz. = 108,489 grammes.

They never passed into Chinese hands by count, but always by weight in Chinese *liang* or taels, modified by the touch. These taels differed in weight at different ports. At Chusan there were two taels in ordinary use: the Tsaoping of 567·3 grains (36·76 grammes), and the Kiangping of 555·3 grains (35·98 grammes); but in which the supercargoes had to pay is not recorded. At Amoy the market tael was 570·0 grains (36·94 grammes). At Macao the market tael was 577·1 grains (37·40 grammes). At Canton the Szema tael is to-day 578·3 grains (37·48 grammes); in 1846 it was 578·0 grains (37·45 grammes); but in 1699 one supercargo in making payments found it to be 580·8 grains (37·64 grammes), in 1724 another found it 581·95 grains (37·71 grammes), while from 1730 on it was taken always at 579·85

grains (37·57 grammes). This is the weight; but the value was further affected by the touch of silver. This was either 'sycee', nominally 1,000 fine (being pure silver of the Chinese standard), or 'current' silver which varied with each tael: at Chusan the Tsaoping tael of value was 997 fine, and the Kiangping tael was 991 fine; at Canton and at Amoy the current silver was 940 fine. If the payment was for government dues it was in sycee; if for goods it was in current silver. The touch of foreign coined silver was fixed and recognized at the rates given above; bars and shoes or ingots varied one with another; and all had to be reduced to the touch of the tael of currency in which payment was made.

The complication was especially marked in buying gold, which was cheap in China *circa* 1700, being only two-thirds of the European mint price. Gold came in shoes of nominally 10 taels weight, and was sold on the basis of being 93 touch; its price in silver was quoted at so much above or below touch. Thus:

10 taels of gold, of 94 touch, at 'touch for touch' = 94 taels silver.
" " " " " at '3 above touch' = 97 " "
" " " " " at '3 below touch' = 91 " "

Take the case of a shoe of gold, 97 touch, weighing 9·85 taels, sold at 4 above touch, paid for in duccatoons.

9·85 taels of 97 touch is 10·274 taels 93 touch;
at 4 above touch is 101 taels silver for 10 taels gold,
or 99·485 taels current silver of 94 for this shoe of gold;
paid for in duccatoons 96 touch,
is 97·412 taels weight of duccatoons.

Besides having this complete mental equipment of the banker, the supercargoes must know the quality of goods. They must know whether raw silk offered to them was (at that date) worth 150 taels a picul, or only 145; whether the tea was of such quality that they could pay 2*s.* 6*d.* a lb., or must pay only 1*s.*; whether, for their heavy cargo, copper at 15 taels or tutenague (spelter, zinc) at 6 taels a picul was the more profitable purchase; whether the weft of woven silks should have the same strength as the warp; whether China-root was better white, or tinted pink; whether vermilion at 42 taels or quicksilver at 42 taels was the better purchase. They also had to take the responsibility of deciding whether they should advance as much, perhaps, as

fifty thousand taels to a merchant of whom they knew very little, in prepayment for goods which would not be delivered until four months later. On their arrival at a port they had to decide whether to resist the exactions which were threatened to their trade, and go farther on to another port—where they might find the conditions as bad; or whether they should take their ships in, and trust to their diplomatic skill to gain better terms by negotiating with the officials and the merchants.

All these qualities made it necessary that the supercargoes should be men of ability, of good education, and of incorruptible honesty. They were paid salaries which to modern ears sound ludicrously inadequate. The chief of the Amoy factory in 1681 received a salary of £80 a year; his colleagues, the 'junior Members of Council', received £40 a year; the writers had £10 a year; when the Taiwan factory was subordinated to Amoy, the salary of its chief was reduced from £80 to £60. They were all lodged and fed at the expense of the Company. As an illustration of the nominal salaries and real wages of servants of the Company, we may take note of the staff sent in 1699 to open a factory in Borneo:

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Chief of Factory	100	0	0	Chief Shipwrights or Master Builders each	60	0	0
Merchant (2nd)	60	0	0	Ship Carpenters . each	40	0	0
Merchant (3rd)	60	0	0	Chief Smith	40	0	0
Factor (4th)	40	0	0	Smith	33	6	8
Factor (5th)	40	0	0	Sawyers . each	35	0	0
Writers (four) . each	10	0	0				

We of to-day wonder how men of such marked ability and of such varied attainments could be attracted to the Company's service; and how, being in it, it could be expected that they should be loyal, zealous, or even honest. In England and in Europe generally at that period, as in China then and to-day, the salary of a government official was but a small part of the recognized and legitimate emoluments of his office. Fees, perquisites, presents, exactions, bribes, all contributed to make up the true value of the office. The East India Company was modelled on government lines, and its servants were paid on a government scale until well into the nineteenth century; but the Company could not allow its servants to supplement their recognized salaries by the same methods as were customary with

government officials. To ensure their honesty, to stimulate their zeal, to confirm their loyalty, the Company granted every possible indulgence to its servants; it usually allowed them some private trade, under such limitations as would safeguard its own interests; sometimes it granted them a commission on the prime cost of the investment made in China; and sometimes it gave them a share in the stock, both goods and silver, which the ship took from England.

The tendency at first, in accordance with the practice of the time, was for the Company to give the supercargoes nothing from its own capital, but to allow them to risk their own money and to make such profit for themselves as they made for the stock provided by the Company. In the year 1674 the Company ventured in its stock to the Indies the sum of £110,000 in goods and £320,000 in silver, a total of £430,000 bringing home an investment valued on arrival in England at £860,000; in that same year, by the same ships, the supercargoes and the captains and officers of the ships took from England as private ventures the sum of £45,000 in goods and £90,000 in silver, a total of £135,000, nearly one-third of the Company's public venture. A practice such as is indicated by these figures was, obviously, one which might easily lead to abuse, and would certainly cut into the profits of the Company; but the objections to it were more manifest in connexion with the private trade of the captain and officers of the ships, than with that of the supercargoes. On many occasions the supercargoes had cause to complain that the captains engrossed profitable trade which ought to have gone to the Company, the most usual ground of complaint being that, by underhand means, they had induced the Chinese merchants to insist on paying them in commodities (such as silk, tea, &c.) instead of gold, which by regulation ought to have formed their investment; and, in 1715, the Court of Directors complained that, in the previous year, the captains and officers of their ships had brought to England no less than 20,000 lb. of tea, to the serious detriment of their own trade in tea, which at that time did not much exceed that amount.

Generally all the Company's servants were prohibited from trading in the main staples which constituted the principal part of its own trade; in China, silk was of course prohibited until

towards the close of the eighteenth century; and in 1686 the Court directed that:

as the Chyna Trade was becoming more promising, Teas and Spices were, in future, to form Part of the Company's Imports, and not to be articles of Private Trade.

During the eighteenth century the tendency of the Company was to restrict the private trade, as far as possible, to silver, coral, and amber outwards, and to gold and musk from China to India and diamonds from India to England as return Investments, since they took up little tonnage.

The Company was, however, always chary of imposing any restraint on the activities of its supercargoes; and in that same year, 1686, the Court wrote complaining of the conduct of the Madras Presidency

in abusing the order for the purchase on the Company's account of Chyna Goods brought in Private Trade thither. When the Court gave the order, they did not conceive that their Servants would be buyers and sellers both.

At the same time the Court wished to 'encourage them in all good wayes', and for that purpose

We give you leave for the future to send us any intire Cargo of Chyna Goods proper for Europe Marketts of your own, or your own in company with any Natives or others, at the first cost in Chyna, to take your satisfaction there out of our Cash, when the Goods are shipt for England (but not before) that you may have your Stocks to goe on with again, on a new voyage, on this condiĉon, that if the said Chyna Cargoes of yours, &c., make not the said first cost here, free of single freight, and all charges, the adventure of the Sea from the Fort [Madras] hither, in such case shall be ours, but the loss at home, if any happen upon Sales, shall be yours. . . . And if any gain arise by such Chyna Goods here, 20 ℔ Cent of the profitt thereof shall be ours in consideraĉon of our running the hazard of the sea, generall charges of the Company, and disbursemt aforehand of our money in India; the rest of the gain justly, whatever it proves to be, shall be yours, and immediately returned you in Dollars, by the first Ship after the sale of such Chyna Goods here; this we say in times of Peace: but if a Dutch war should happen, we shall in time of such war, expect 40 ℔ Cent of the profitt to the Company for running the risque &c., as aforesaid. . . . The Company will sell the Goods here by the Candle.

This proposal seems sufficiently liberal, even in our eyes, un-

accustomed as we are to all forms of private trade in competition with the trade of employers.

Some of the East India Company's ships belonged to themselves, while others were chartered; and the conditions under which the latter were managed were sometimes affected by the terms of the charter-party. The allowance for private trade made for the ship *Eaton* chartered by the Company for China in 1699, and the limitations placed on it, may serve as an example of the privileges granted to such ships, over and above the renumeration to the supercargoes.

Private Trade. The Court have allowed by the Charterparty £3500 to be sent out by the Owners, Master and Ship's Company of the *Eaton*; whereof £1500 may be carried out and brought home in such Commodities as they please, on condition that her Captain do not sell or buy in China without the Concurrence of the Factory. The remaining £2000 is [to be] sent out in Silver; and the Court permit the proceeds to be returned from China in Gold, or otherwise may be sent to Coromandel, consigned to some of the Company's Factors to be returned thence in Diamonds by a Company's Ship, the Proprietors paying what others pay.

Such generous terms were not always given to the owners of chartered ships, but the officers of all ships were treated at first in what seems to be a liberal fashion. In time this was found to work to the disadvantage of the Company, and this branch of the private trade was strictly regulated; until, by 1720, the captains and officers, who in 1714 had brought 20,000 lb., of tea to England on their own account, were limited at first to 3 per cent. of the ship's tonnage, and later to a total of 2 cwt. (224 lb.) for every 100 tons of the ship's tonnage; the ships of that time were usually of 350 tons burthen, and under this rule their private ventures in tea might amount to 7 cwt. It was, however, the cargo space of the ship that was most carefully safeguarded; and in their cabins and berths, so long as they did not encroach on the tonnage capacity of the ship, they might still bring ventures which were not articles of commerce—such as fans, ivory carvings, embroideries, and articles having a value as curiosities greater than their intrinsic value. Restrictions placed from time to time on the private ventures of captains and officers were not long retained; and in 1729 we find the captain of the ship *Lynn* having private trade from Canton valued at £3,744,

being £2,500 in gold and £1,244 in goods, including 7,750 lb. of tea. The Company was, however, always struggling to check this tendency.

The supercargoes were, on the contrary, treated more and more generously in the way of allowances, in proportion as their private trade was restricted. At first, as has been said, their zeal was stimulated and their efforts were rewarded only by the private trade allowed, with, apparently, no unreasonable restrictions imposed. Then some limitation was placed on the articles which might form part of the private trade, and on the proportion of the ship's carrying capacity which might be taken up by it; but the Court had no wish to diminish the reward which their supercargoes might earn, and what they took away with one hand they gave with the other. At first, as they began to limit the amount of private trade, they gave their supercargoes a commission on the prime cost of the return Investment by the ship.

Against the payment of unduly high prices, the Court trusted to the honesty and loyalty of their supercargoes, and they have never been impeached; the Court's principal aim was to stimulate their supercargoes' zeal, and so secure a full lading of the most profitable commodities. During the seventeenth century, when the individual ship formed the unit of a venture, the number of supercargoes on each ship was usually three, and the commission paid was generally either $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 per cent.: divided to give the chief $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., the second 1 or $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., and the third $\frac{3}{4}$ or 1 per cent. By the *Aurungzebe*, at Amoy in 1702, the return investment was invoiced at 122,150 taels, and the commission debited to the Company for division between the three supercargoes amounted to 4,275 taels. When the commission was only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. they had in addition some private trade, but its amount on the *Aurungzebe* is not recorded.

From the year 1700 the system of paying commission became less common, and the Company made its supercargoes partners in the venture in which they were engaged in common. A certain amount of private trade was still allowed, but the principal part of their reward was to come from a specified portion of the ship's stock, which was assigned to them. In 1699 the English East India Company chartered the *Macclesfield* galley, 250 tons; and,

as she was a chartered ship, some provision was made also for her owners and officers. She took in London a stock of £5,475 in goods and £26,611 in silver, total £32,086; of this sum £25,036 was 'for account of the Hon'ble English Company', and £7,050 (22 per cent.) for its agents on board, distributed as follows:

	£
Mr. Robert Douglas, Chief Supercargo . .	3,800
Mr. Wm. Strong, Second ,, . .	1,000
Mr. John Biggs, Third ,, . .	500
Mr. Edmond Harvey, Fourth ,, . .	250
Owners of the *Macclesfield*	500
Captain John Hurle, the commander . .	400
Other Officers of the ship, specified sums, in all	600
	7,050

In addition to their private ventures, which were strictly limited, this amount of capital was provided by the Company, and its agents were to have the profit realized on the return of the ship to London.

In 1715 the Company made a change in its practice. Each separate ship was no longer to form a separate venture, with her account and the transactions connected with her cargo kept independently. On the arrival of the ships at Canton, the supercargoes on board were in future to form one Council, one of them being designated as chief, the others having a prearranged order of precedence; but all orders, accounts, and decisions were to be signed by all members of the Council; and only the cargo accounts were kept separate for each ship.

For the season of 1722, by which time the system had taken definite shape, four ships were dispatched to Canton, having on board seven supercargoes in all, who on arrival joined together to form the Council. The reward for their efforts was granted by the Court in three forms:

(*a*) 'Allowance' of a portion of the Company's stock on the ships, from which the profits were to be given to the supercargoes in certain proportions, as had been done with the *Macclesfield* frigate cited above.

(*b*) 'Permission' to each to carry out a certain sum in foreign silver, and to bring back in gold the investment from that sum.

(*c*) 'Privilege' of a separate venture, in goods both ways.

The amount of each of these grants to each member of the Council of 1722 was as follows :

	Allowance.	*Permission.*	*Privilege.*
	£	£	£
Mr. Jas. Naish, Chief	3,000	1,500	200
Mr. Newnam, 2nd .	1,800	900	150
Mr. Savage, 3rd .	1,800	900	150
Mr. Pratt, 4th . .	1,200	600	100
Mr. Turner, 5th .	1,200	600	100
Mr. du Bois, 6th .	1,200	600	100
Mr. Talbot, 7th .	800	300	100
	11,000	5,400	900

The Company's stock on the four ships amounted to £141,828, at least nine-tenths in silver, which consisted of 80,000 duccatoons and 360,000 pillar dollars, in so far as the accounts disclose the amounts used for buying the return investment.

For the season 1724, owing to the fear that China might be in a disturbed state in consequence of the death of the Emperor Kanghi, only one ship was dispatched to Canton, having on board two supercargoes. This number was never considered sufficient for a Council, and to make it up to three the captain of the ship was added to it. The rewards were in the same form as in 1722 :

	Allowance.	*Permission.*	*Privilege.*
	£	£	£
Mr. G. M. Pitt, Chief	1,500	10,000	150
Mr. Nicholson, 2nd .	1,000	2,000	100
Capt. Hudson, 3rd .	500	none	none
	3,000	12,000	250

The Company's stock on board was £50,369, at least nine-tenths being in silver. Under the permission Mr. Pitt carried to Madras gold which realized 32,783 pagodas (£14,752) and Mr. Nicholson 6,483 pagodas (£2,916), each paying to the Company 3 per cent. as freight.

In 1721 all the supercargoes of four ships were given the 'Allowance' and the 'Privilege'; but, in lieu of the 'Permission', they had the option of paying a definite additional sum (in the case of the chiefs £1,000 each) into the Company's stock on board, and on this the Court guaranteed them 80 per cent. profit, subject only to the ship's safe return to England. This we may assume, then, to have been the value of the 'Allowance'

given to the supercargoes, since in all cases they were subject to no charge for freight, demurrage, or factory charges. The profit on the 'Privilege' would depend on the taste and judgment of the adventurer; a richly jewelled and enamelled watch, or an ingenious flint-and-steel apparatus, might attract buyers in Canton; a tastefully painted fan, a dainty ivory carving, a splendid embroidered robe might find in London buyers willing to give pounds for taels cost—a profit of 200 per cent. Given good judgment, it may safely be estimated as probable that a venture of £100 might realize £200 in Canton, and those £200 invested there might in turn realize £400 in London, a profit of only 100 per cent. on each transaction.

For one China voyage the supercargoes gave three years to the Company's service; in that time their table was provided for them during 20 months; 14 to 15 months were spent on the voyage out and home; 16 months were a rest period in England; and during 6 months they were subjected to a constant strain of trying work and intense anxiety. As reward for this Mr. Naish and Mr. Pitt, mentioned above, may be assumed to have received the following sums:

	Mr. Naish.	*Mr. Pitt.*
	£	£
Capital to be provided . .	1,700	10,150
Profit from Allowance . .	2,400	1,200
,, ,, Permission . .	600	4,000
,, ,, Privilege . .	600	450
Salary at £80 for 3 years . .	240	240
	3,840	5,890

VII

THE *DEFENCE* AT MACAO, 1689–1690

The Court were disappointed in Amoy as a point of penetration to the China trade ; not only were the exactions heavy and the obstructions annoying, but they could not obtain on good terms the silks for which they went there—for the day of tea was not yet come ; for silks even Tongking was as good, if not better. The supercargoes had proposed trading at Ningpo as a corrective to the obstruction at Amoy ; the Court, with wise prescience, had tried to dispatch ships to 'the Nankeen Islands', otherwise Nanking ; once indeed, in October 1684, the Madras Presidency 'wrote to the King of Pegu about a Settlement in his country ; as also a Settlement at Bamoo [Bhamo], on y^e^ confines of Chyna, w^ch^, could we be admitted to, might be improved to a very considerable and benefitiall trade'—the illusory dream which was to beguile British traders for two centuries. But the Court never lost sight of Canton, which was included in the instructions to many ships which ultimately went to other ports, and a factory at which, as Madras wrote in February 1689 (1690), 'we are of opinion will be very advantagious to your Hon^rs^ if it could be well procured, that Port much exceeding Amoy in all sorts of China Comodityes, and is a greater and better Government'.

The Madras Presidency had already, in July 1689, dispatched the *Defence* to Canton, to load sugar and other produce for Persia ; the ship was of 730 tons burthen, the largest yet recorded as going to China. On September 1st she anchored 'about 15 Leagues to the Eastward of Macao' ; this would bring her to the harbour of Hongkong or in its purlieus, possibly up in the Kapsingmun, which would give good shelter from the prevailing winds and from any typhoons which might come. On the 7th the chief, Mr. Yale, with another supercargo, Mr. Montague, a writer, Mr. Biggs, 'and eight Souldiers departed in the long-boat for Canton, with intentions to make way for y^e^ Ship's coming up to us ;' and on the 9th they 'landed in a fair sandy

Panoramic View of Macao from the West, with the Harbour in the foreground and the Road in the background

bay within sight of y^e^ Maccoa Islands'. If they were thirty-six hours in the longboat with a light, but fair, breeze, and if by 'Maccoa Islands' is meant the high peaks of the islands south of Macao, it is probable that they landed as far north, in the estuary of the Pearl River, as Taishan Bay at the town of Namtau.[1] Thence they proceeded, the three in two-bearer chairs, the retinue on eleven wheelbarrows, 'much more convenient than our English ones, but somewhat more noisy, for 'twas easy to hear them a league off'. At evening of the 12th they arrived at 'a large City, Tonquon [Tungkun], notable for producing the best sugar in China'. There the magistrate received them very well, and provided a boat to carry them on to Canton on the 13th.

The next day the supercargoes called on the Hoppo, who 'gave us all assurance of favour & friendship imaginable, call'd for y^e^ Chop y^t^ was writ, ask'd their approbation of it, & promised to send it signed to us y^e^ next morning'. They took this reception and comforting assurance at its face value, and were highly elated; but in the evening their Macao broker arrived with news 'of our Ship's being at anchor on y^e^ back side of Mountania, moored with her yards and topmasts strook, some six leagues off Moccoa'. This was confirmed the next day, September 15th, by the chief Chinese merchant, named Gea, who added that 'y^e^ Cap^t^ resolves not to stir thence, maugure all orders'.

The Hoppo thereupon cancelled the permit for the ship to come up to Whampoa. This action Mr. Yale attributed to Gea's intrigues; but it is difficult to understand the use of the permit, if the ship was not to enter the river. A few days later Captain Heath refused to move nearer to Macao, which could only have been to the Taipa anchorage; but once before the commander of the *Delight* had remained outside because he did not consider the depth of water there to be sufficient; and, if Captain Heath was not wilfully perverse, it may well be that he was timid and feared for the safety of his ship, so much larger than any which

[1] From the southern cape of the bay the distance is 32 miles to Montanha, height 1,950 ft., theoretic visibility 55 miles; but it is 26 miles to Taipa, height 510 ft., visibility 22 miles. North of Macao is the anchorage of Kumsingmun, back of which are the peaks, height 1,320 ft., visibility 44 miles, distant 22 miles from Taishan Bay. These last, with base below the horizon, would stand up as islands across the estuary.

had before come into these waters. All Mr. Yale's plans were, however, upset and the party left Canton by boat on September 19th, arriving at Macao on the 24th.

The Hoppo [1] followed close, and on the 28th the supercargoes urged him to measure the ship, and inform him of the amount which they must pay as dues. He refused point-blank until they should have made their contracts for their export cargo, being, as the supercargoes declared, 'determined to know the length of their purse, before he measured the ship'. They accordingly contracted with their Chinese merchants on October 1st for 10,000 piculs of sugar at Tls, 1·70, and 3,000 piculs of tutenague at Tls. 3·70; but they noted that, before the merchant Gea's arrival at Canton on September 15th, the current market rates had been Tls. 1·40 and Tls. 3·00 respectively.

It is proper to consider the nature of these measurement dues, which have been confused with tonnage dues or port dues.

When in 1684 at Amoy the supercargoes of the *Delight* presented to the Emperor the arms and ammunition [2] which they had hoped to sell, they were informed that, in consideration of their generosity, no customs duty would be levied on their goods. As they did only a small trade, this concession was of little value; but the next year the *China Merchant* was required to pay duty on all her stock, sold or unsold, and on the unsold portion paid 686 taels; and the *Loyal Adventure* paid 281 taels as 'Custome'. In 1687 the *London* and the *Worcester* were called on, for the first time at Amoy, to pay measurement dues; they were paid after the usual haggling, and the supercargoes were informed that no customs duty was leviable on the stock inwards or the investment outwards for these two ships; Mr. Gladman, chief of the *London*, in 'directions' which he left for the next English ship arriving at Amoy, states:

To y^e^ Cong Po, or Customer, & his second, we gave to y^e^ amo^t^ of about 240 Tale, to y^e^ Tuneloya & Hihoung [military officers] about 250 Tale. . . . The first time wee was here Custome was paid for all

[1] The Hoppo was an Imperial official, ranking with but after the Viceroy, always a Manchu, and head of all the Custom-houses in the province of Kwangtung. He was a very important person and very unlikely to have gone down to Macao, or even to have received the supercargoes in person at Canton. The term is used loosely in all the records to indicate the Customs officer with whom the supercargoes discussed the amount of the measurement dues.

[2] Cf. *antea*, p. 56.

Goods carryed back, w^ch^ now is altered, & instead thereof they have a new way, y^t^ is to measure y^e^ Ships, but there is noe certain rule; for y^e^ *London* paid in all 1,147 Tale, and the *Worcester* 612 Tale. . . . y^e^ Merch^ts^ pay Custome for all you sell & buy.

The (Chinese) merchants pay the customs duty, both on imports and exports: that is the essential feature in Chinese official dealing with foreign trade for a century and a half after this date.

The supercargoes were compelled, of course, to give presents, gratuities, fees, and bribes; they paid measurement dues as a rough-and-ready method of assessing the value to them of using the privileges of the port;[1] but customs duty on the goods, both import and export, was paid by the Chinese traders with whom they dealt. They were exempted from the incidence of customs tax, and, according to the accepted economic canons of their age, they rejoiced; but, in fact, the trade was taxed twice over, once in the duty paid by the Chinese merchants, once in the measurement dues paid by the foreign ships. It is further to be noted that the legal rate of Chinese customs duty, according to the official tariff, was, apart from fees and bribes, exceedingly light, being at the general rate of 6 per cent. *ad valorem*. Duties in England were then very heavy: tea was in those same years taxed at 5*s*. a lb.; the English customs duty on the tea loaded on the *London*[2] in 1687 amounted to £5,000 or 15,000 taels, whereas that ship paid officially as measurement dues 1,147 taels to the Amoy Customs, for her entire trade. Here, too, no account is taken of fees and bribes.

The lading of the *Defence* having been duly contracted for, the Hoppo, 'having been solicited for the last fortnight, at length,' on October 15th, went on board to measure the ship.

After a hot dispute and a bribe to y^e^ measurers, got y^e^ Hoppo's concent to measure her from afore y^e^ Mizen-mast to y^e^ after part of y^e^ Foremast, w^ch^ otherwise would be from stem to sterne, and amount to a vast sume—her length 94 Coveds, and breadth 23½ Coveds.[3]

[1] Much in the same way that the English system of rating on the rent of occupied premises for municipal expenditure is designed to be a rough-and-ready basis for levying a local income tax.

[2] Cf. *antea*, p. 62.

[3] By coved must be meant the Chinese *ch'ih*, of varying length. The Canton carpenter's *ch'ih*, presumably used for measuring a ship, is 14·1 English inches; it was in 1843 adopted as the 'foot' of the Chinese Customs tariff. The dimensions of the *Defence* were then: length, mast to mast, 100 ft. 5 in.; breadth, 27 ft. 7 in.

At the opening of the nineteenth century the basic measurement dues of

The Hoppo refused then to fix the amount, but on the 17th he demanded 2,484 taels for measurage. Mr. Yale protested and threatened to leave without his cargo; to which the Hoppo returned that 'twas ye Emperour's order that such a sume must be paid without abatement'. The supercargoes went on board 'bagg and baggage', and on the 21st their linguist (interpreter) came to them on board.

> Many were ye tears & supplications the insinuating divill used to bring them to his purpose, urging that he would be bamboo'd to death if they did not comply. . . . He told them it must be 1,800 Tale yt ye Hoppo must have, Gea and he having passed their word for it.

This sum was divided—1,500 taels for measurage, and 300 taels for the Hoppo himself.

To the Hoppo the reduction of 984 taels in the official measurement dues was of small consequence, compared with the special payment of 300 taels to himself; while Mr. Yale was content with so considerable a reduction. The dues, 1,500 taels, were paid on the 24th; but the 300 taels were provisionally withheld, 'the Hoppo denying liberty to Mr. Haines [the second supercargo] for his immediate going to Canton'. The next day, October 25th, Mr. Yale offered to the Hoppo, 'provided he would dispatch them in forty days, to give him 450 Tale—to which he replied he would use his utmost endeavours'.

Captain Heath was now the means of bringing disaster on the venture. Apart from his initial action which has been referred to above, the record contains many references to his 'irregularities', especially in forestalling the market, in 'running Goods', and in using armed force to recover some of his goods which were detained by the Customs; his irregularities culminated on March 6, 1689 (1690), when

> ye Capt. with Pinnace and Longboat came on board, having fatally pformed what I always feared would be ye conclusion of his folly; has I fear for ever ruin'd ye Publick & Private Trade, especially at Moccoa. . . . Having got together both his boat's crew and others, to the amount of 20 or 30 men, well armed, he demands of the Chumpeen's [Tsungping][1] people ye Mast that they had haled up on shoar, showing them ye Hoppo's Officers Chop for carrying on't away—but it seems

the *Defence* at Canton would have been 1,718 taels, which would have been increased by recognized and regular accretions to about 3,600 taels.

[1] Tsungping or Chentai, Brigadier-General.

Timber, Oyle, &c., belong not to ye Hoppo, but ye Chumpeen,[1] wch occasioned ye Chumpeen's taking no notice of ye Chop, but threw it away; as likewise ye Capt's imediate, and rash laying hands to, & rowling away ye Mast into ye water; when began ye fray, & severall blows were exchang'd, our Capt's side proved ye victors; & ye Mast being fastened to ye Longboat, ye Capt. & Crew went on board the Pinnace: When began the enimies to power [pour] whole showers of stones at our boats; our people not enduring ye onsett, desired leave to fire, being all in ye Pinnice, cockt and presented—the word 'fire!' it seems was fatally given by ye Capt., and upon't two or three of ye people fired imediately, killing one, and wounding another Chinaman on the spott; on wch our boat put off in confusion, the Chinas still continuing their stones and fired, wch was the first time they did, so gave a whole broadside from their boat upon our Pinnice, two of which tooke place upon her quarter, a third, which suppose designed at ye Capt., wounded our black Pylott, who stood by him. . . . In this confusion ye poore Doctor, 3rd & 5th Mate, and 7 Englishmen on shoar, were not thought on, or neglected, the Pinnice and Longboat having cutt loose ye Mast, making away from ye shoar, who had they stayed but a few minutes longer might have recd our poor Doctor, who with some others making towards ye boat, was miserably cut downe in their sight.

The next day, March 7th,

Flettinger ye Dutchman came on board us wth letters from ye Portugueze to me, expressing their greif & sorrow for ye misfortune, wth ye sad news of poor Doctor's being mortally wounded & drag'd by ye cruell Tartars into their Cajan[2] Watch House, where lyes on ye ground chain'd in his gore most miserably; wth ye stinking dead corps (after it had been carried around ye towne ye more to irritate ye Chinese) lay'd by him, and none suffered to come near or dress his wounds; and all ye rest of his people (save ye two Mates wch believe have sheltered themselves amongst ye Portuguese) bound miserably in ye same house.

The Portuguese urged Mr. Yale to settle the affair with all speed. Mr. Watts, the fourth supercargo, volunteered to go on shore to effect an arrangement, and was authorized to offer 2,000 taels; but the Mandarins insisted on 5,000 Tale; which the Supercargoes refusing, Watts was detained, and there being no prospect of the Mandarins lowering their demand, the Ship sailed on the 18th March.

[1] When the author was at Canton, 1903, having control of native trade, it was true that timber was in the jurisdiction, not of the Hoppo's Customs, but of the Military; it was then, however, not under the Green Banner, of which the Tsungping was an officer, but under the Tartar-General commanding the Manchu permanent garrison.

[2] Cajan, palm-leaf thatch.

The supercargoes left 198 taels for Mr. Watts, and expressed the hope that Deanqua,[1] a Chinese merchant, might obtain his release and that of the sailors. The two mates had made their way on board in safety, but the *Defence* had left behind, prisoners in the hands of the Chinese, a supercargo, and seven sailors, besides her surgeon dying or dead.

This was the first serious affray in the history of English trade in China. No apology is offered for the length of the narrative, nor is any comment required. The Court of Directors were filled with dismay. They had always been keenly desirous of settling a factory at Canton; but a year later, in February 1690 (1691), they wrote that they did not wonder at Mr. Yale's disappointment—

> We never ordered any settlement to be made at Canton, and we never had good success in any attempt made of that kind without our own express orders.

[1] Probably Tien Kwan, a 'merchant', not a 'tradesman'. In later years, after the establishment of the factory, *qua* was the customary suffix to the names of those high dignitaries, the eminently honourable and distinguished Hong Merchants, such as Howqua, Puankhequa, &c. Kwan or Qua means 'dignitary, an official', the merchant so designated having purchased official rank, with the button of that rank.

VIII

THE *MACCLESFIELD* AT CANTON, 1699–1700

Though under many vexatious restraints, the Company had made an encouraging beginning in the China trade, especially at Amoy ; but there was now a lull in the operations, occasioned by difficulties at home. These became more pronounced on the transfer of the crown from James II to William and Mary, and the attacks on the Company's charter were more frequent, with greater mercantile force behind them. The opposition was, however, met sturdily, and, on October 7, 1693, the London Company received a new charter from the Crown, confirming all its privileges, nearly in the terms of the original grant by Elizabeth. On November 11th this was itself confirmed by Letters Patent, empowering the Company to add £744,000 to its stock, but limiting the duration of its exclusive privileges to twenty-one years. During this period of struggle for its very existence, the Company left the China field mainly to private traders, venturing under the Company's licence ; but, on the renewal of the charter, ' they prepared to resume that Branch of Trade on a Scale corresponding with the Magnitude of their Funds, and with the Advantages of Unity of Intelligence and a general Partnership in Interest directing the National Supplies for a steady but remote Market, and proportioning to the Circumstances, not only of both Countries, but of both Continents, the Returns from Asia which at once dispose the Chinese to cultivate Intercourse with us as Customers, while they are in demand at home '. Notwithstanding the renewal of the charter, the opposition continued, and in 1698 the London Company's competitors received a charter incorporating the ' English Company Trading to the East Indies '.

For a few years there was some confused trading to China. In 1694 the Company sent the *Dorothy*, 200 tons, to Amoy. For so small a ship she had a large stock ; and, beyond ' enough Gruff Goods to serve as Kentledge ', she was to invest in fine goods

only—30,000 pieces of woven silks being among the articles named, and raw silk, 'if not exceeds 6*s.* a pound, so much as is necessary to fill up your Ship'.

In the same year a 'Moor's ship' of 400 tons, the property of 'Abdull Guphore' of Surat, 'got safe to Canton: but the Chinese treated them with such Exactions in the Customs, measuring the ship, forced Presents, and Over-rate of their Goods, that they came away with no more than 5,000 Dollars of their Cargo in Sugar, Alum, & not a third-part laden'.

In a letter of July 1, 1696, the Court refer to 'Mr. Gough's voyage and disappointment' at Foochow and Ningpo; and give instructions that 'Ships that go to any part of China may have particular orders so as to manage their affaires, as not to displease the Chineeses'. In 1696 the crew of the *Moco* frigate mutinied north-eastward of Pulo Way, murdered the captain, and sent the supercargo and seventeen others adrift in the pinnace.

In July 1697 the ship *Nassau*, 400 tons, was dispatched from London to Amoy, with a stock between £40,000 and £50,000; a portion of this consisted of '100 pipes of wine and £20,000 worth of dollars', which she was to take in at Cadiz. Among the items in the list of return investment ordered, were 600 tubs of tea, 30 tons of raw silk, 108,000 pieces of woven silks, and 600 pieces of rich velvets. The galley *Trumball*, 250 tons, was dispatched to Amoy three months later, with a stock of £20,000 in goods and bullion; her investment was to include 500 tubs of tea, 41,000 pieces of woven silks and 150 pieces of velvets.

In November 1698 the *Fleet* frigate, 280 tons, was dispatched from London to Amoy with a stock of £37,554; her return investment was to include 300 tubs of tea, 20 tons of raw silk, 65,000 pieces of woven silks, 1,300 pieces of velvets, and 3,000 ounces of musk.

In November 1699 two ships were dispatched to China by the London (the old) Company: the *Wentworth*, 350 tons, to Canton, and the *Dorrill*, 250 tons, to Amoy, with stocks, the former of £38,080, and the latter of 38,126. But before these were dispatched, the English Company sent out its first venture in the *Macclesfield* galley; it 'freighted a galley in the expectation

that her superior sailing would expedite the voyage at least two months '.

The *Macclesfield*, Captain John Hurle commander, with Mr. Robert Douglas as chief supercargo, sailed from the Downs on March 2, 1698 (1699), and dropped anchor ' in sight of the Castle of Macao ', but two leagues from it, on August 26, 1699, after a voyage, by way of Batavia, of five months and twenty-four days. The officials, both Portuguese and Chinese, came out at once and, both then and in the next few days, made them welcome and assured them of every facility for trade. To all their promises Mr. Douglas returned answer that he could not decide on trading at Canton until he knew how much the Hoppo would demand from the ship, and what encouragement he might expect in the way of trade; for the first he must settle the measurement dues, and for trade he would commit himself to nothing until he should see musters of silks and other goods, and know their prices.

Mr. Biggs, the third supercargo, had been in Canton before in the London Company's service; and in a merchant who came on board direct from Canton on September 2nd he recognized Hunshunquin,[1] with whom he had already done business on a satisfactory footing, and who had formerly been ' the King's Merchant ', and also merchant to the Dutch for several years. This merchant ' discoursed us about our affairs, and offered to take our whole Cargo, he gave the best account of Goods we had yet received, and offered the best prices, and demanded the lowest '; he also promised to urge the Hoppo to be moderate in his demands. Moreover, he could speak Portuguese, and the two parties could thus avoid the dangers inevitable in using the ordinary interpreters.

On September 5th Mr. Douglas went ashore for the first time and paid a round of official visits, among them one on ' the Chuntock's[2] Merchant, named Shemea, whose master is Viceroy of Canton and another Province '. Of Macao he notes that ' This City is att present miserable poor; and altho y^e

[1] Quin, another variant of Kwan. Cf. *antea*, p. 84 n.

[2] Chuntock, Viceroy. The two provinces are Kwangtung and Kwangsi. In another place Mr. Douglas refers to the two provinces as Canton and Shaukeen; this confusion arises from the fact that, until 1847, the official residence of the Viceroy was at Shiuhing (Shaoking) and not at Canton.

Portuguese have ye name of ye Government, yett ye Chinese have ye Chiefe Power, and all ye Customes of ye Port, excepting some small priviledges yt ye Portiguesse Ships injoy '.

On September 7th the Hoppo came down from Canton. There is every reason to believe that this was the Hoppo himself, and not merely one of the superior officials of the Customs to whom that title was frequently applied. The Hoppo was a very important functionary, assimilated in rank to the Viceroy, and, in 1843, handling a collection exceeding ten million taels in gross; and that he should have come in person to Macao indicates a distinct change in policy at Canton, showing that even the Manchus (the Hoppo was always a Manchu) had learned that it was more profitable to encourage trade than to throttle it.

That same day Mr. Douglas dined with the 'Chun-quin's[1] Merchant', with whom, and other merchants in his company, they compared prices; 'their prices were very high, in particular the Raw Silk, which I most desired.'

We have now had mention of three privileged 'Merchants', the King's, the Viceroy's, and the Tartar-General's, each engaging in trade with the power of their respective 'masters' behind them. In Tongking we had the King and the Prince in person engaging in trade;[2] at Canton the high dignitaries had delegated their powers to selected merchants.

On September 8th the Hoppo's officers measured the ship, measuring 'from the centre of the Mizen, to the centre of the Fore-mast, and made her length 62½ Cubits' (73 ft. 5 in.) and her breadth 20 cubits. With these dimensions the *Macclesfield* was, as the Hoppo informed them the next day, a second rate, 'which rate is charged at 1,200 Tailes in ye Booke. The Hoppo then said that in order to prove his desire to favor us, he had ordered the Secretary to enter our ship as a Third Rate, which paid only 600 Tales, which he hoped would satisfy us.' This offer Mr. Douglas accepted, 'provided the Merchants gave us encouragement to remain'. The Hoppo thereupon, as a further concession, 'remitted one-fifth of what third rate Ships are charged in the Emperor's Books, and he accordingly ordered the Secretary to write down only 480 Tales'.

[1] This can only be Chün-kwan, i. e. the Chiang-chün (Tsiang-kün) or Tartar-General.

[2] Cf. *antea*, p. 36 seq.

Mr. Douglas seized his opportunity, while the Hoppo was in such a gracious mood, and asked for three 'Chops', one to permit all merchants to trade freely with him, one to permit him to go to Canton and return at his pleasure, and one to take the ship to Canton if he saw fit. These were promised 'with seeming willingness and satisfaction'. When that for freedom of trade was received, it was found to restrict the trade to Macao, and to require the supercargo, not the Chinese merchants, to 'pay the Customs both of Imports and Exports'; Mr. Douglas expostulated, and the Hoppo amended the document.

During this time Mr. Douglas was trying to come to terms with the merchants, but their prices for what they had to sell were too high, and for what he had to sell too low; and he and Mr. Biggs went in consequence to Canton. They started on September 14th, but, the wind being NNE., they could not go by the Boca Tigris and were compelled to take the Broadway passage, 'to y^e^ westward by y^e^ city of Hun-Shan [Heungshan]'. They arrived on the 19th and called at once on the Hoppo, who 'received us very kindly, as did also the second Hoppo'.[1] They also called on M. Bonac, the 'French Agent'; and on the 20th they 'went privately into the City, and priced Goods in the Shops, where we found them much cheaper than they had yet been offered us'.

While at Canton they lodged with Hunshunquin; in his house they had consultation with some merchants, with others at the French agent's house; and they went also to visit the Chunquin's merchant, who showed them some musters, inferior and high priced. After all these conferences Mr. Douglas became convinced that the merchants generally had formed a combination; one of them he saw more privately and found him with an evident desire to trade; but when he was urged to quote prices for his goods, he declared that 'he durst not, for fear of y^e^ Great Mandarines Merchants, such as y^e^ Chuntuck's, & Chunquin's, &c. and so said several other Merchants y^t^ we discoursed w^th^, and every one of them desired to be concerned when we had fixed our Contract, but owned they durst not break y^e^ way'.

[1] In the nineteenth century there was only one Hoppo at Canton, but the existence of a 'Second Hoppo' is verified by Lockyer. The Canton Customs was too rich a pasturage to be granted to one, until the importance of the foreign trade necessitated a concentration of control.

Mr. Douglas found it, then, impossible to get prices quoted by the ordinary merchants; and he 'also remarked that the other Great Merchants are much prejudiced against Hunshunquin; and on the contrary that he seemed to stand in fear of none of them, nor their masters neither, but valued himself upon ye friendship he pretended to have at ye Court of Pekine. He had formerly been ye King of Canton's Merchant, before it was reduced to a Vice-Royship.'

Hunshunquin likewise, however, played fast and loose, and Mr. Douglas informed him that he saw no prospect of doing any trade in silk, raw and wrought, and other fine goods for the 'Europe market', and that he would buy only gruff goods for 'the Coast or Bay'. After two or three days of similar argument, the two supercargoes decided to make a contract with Hunshunquin, though his prices were far from satisfactory. They agreed to sell to him their entire stock in goods at the following rates:

		Tls.	
Cloth, scarlet, &c. 'to be accounted for Head'[1]	at	3.0.0	℔ yard
Cloth, violet, &c. 'to be accounted Foot'	,,	2.0.0	,,
Spanish Medleys	,,	2.7.5	,,
Cloath Rash	,,	2.2.5	,,
Cambletts	,,	2.2.5	,,
Perpetts	,,	15.0.0	℔ ps.
Lead	,,	2.5.0	℔ picul

He to pay the customs duty. The stock of goods on the ship had been invoiced from London at £5,475; and, at the contract rates, the sale realized 36,000 taels = £12,000.

For the return investment they decided to substitute raw silk for woven goods, because of the high prices of the latter; and they contracted for the following:

		Tls.	
Raw silk, Head, 175 Picul	at	137·00	℔ picul
,, ,, Belly,[2] 175 Picul	,,	127·00	,,
'One with the other at Tls. 132 ℔ picul'.			
Quicksilver, 170 Picul	at	44·00	,,
Singlo Tea, the best, 160 Picul	,,	25·00	,,
Tutenague, 250 Picul	,,	2·88	,,
Musk in Cod, the best	,,	10·00	℔ catty
Narrow Taffeties ½ ell wide, 1,200 Pieces	,,	2·70	℔ piece

All to be delivered on board 'clear of all Customs or other Duties', within two months of the ship's arrival at Whampoa.

[1] Head = superior quality; foot = inferior quality.
[2] Belly = medium quality.

Hunshunquin was to be paid two-thirds in money and one-third in goods, 'in proportion as he brings in his Goods, and no otherwayes'; and he was to supply other goods to balance the contract, 'or if we require it, 200 Shoes of Gold, of 10 Tale weight each, of 94 touch, at 4 under touch, which is 90 Tale for 10 Tale weight'. Penalty of treble damages for breach of contract.

The terms of the contract are interesting. After paying for the goods bought as specified above, Mr. Douglas would have about 10,000 taels in goods, i. e. in credit, and 15,000 taels in dollars, to provide for the ship's expenses, to meet the official dues and exactions, and to buy additional export goods. For the *Macclesfield*, a galley of 250 tons burthen, he had contracted to buy goods with a dead weight of 56 tons. Further he had contracted for gold at a price close on the old-time Chinese ratio of ten silver for one gold.

Having obtained from the Hoppo all the necessary permits, together with full assurance of his high consideration, Mr. Douglas returned to the ship in Taipa Road. At Macao he bought 1,000 piculs (60 tons) of 'clean pepper' at Tls. 5·60, from a Chinese who had some at Canton, to be delivered on board within two months, 'clear of all Customs and Duties'; and he paid 'earnest 200 Dollars = Tls. 145·28'.

The ship left Macao on October 3rd. On the 5th, 'being abreast of the Castles in the Boca Tigris, two boats boarded us, one from the Chumpien [Tsungping, Brigadier-General] to take account of our Men, Guns, &c., which we gave, and paid the fees, amounting to 3 Dollars (Tls. 2·18). The other belonged to the Hoppo's Officers, their fees were $2\frac{3}{4}$ Dollars (Tls. 2·34).'[1]

Two days later, when anchored 'within sight of the Ships in Whampoa Road', Hunshunquin came on board and obtained an advance of '2,000 P^{s} $\frac{8}{8}$ half Pillar, half Mexico [Tls. 1442·40]'. At Whampoa they found, arrived before them, the *Loyal Captain* from Madras, a 'Moors Ship' from Surat, and a French ship.[2]

The next morning as Captain Hurle, with the fourth supercargo Mr. Harvey, the chief and second mates, and four sailors were on shore to pitch a tent, 'the French sent several boats

[1] These conversions are calculated arbitrarily at different rates.

[2] The French Agent informed Mr. Douglas that the first French ship at Canton had arrived the previous year, 1698. When the first English ship penetrated as far up as Whampoa is not recorded.

against them, containing near eighty men, some of whom were armed, who beat them most unmercifully . . . the French Captain [Delaroque] stood in the stern gallery of his ship and called to his men to beat them more . . . to kill the dogs if they resisted'. England and France were then temporarily at peace, engaged in partitioning Spain, and the French Agent, Monsieur Bonac, both then and later manifested a very friendly disposition; and this armed attack is the more unintelligible. The French were in great favour—'Their interest in this place was a great deal more than ours att present, by reason of ye Embassie they had sent to ye Court, and the great number of Jesuits and Priests they had there, and hear; ye great Presents they had made to ye Empr; and ye strict charge all ye Mandarines had received not to molest them.' Mr. Douglas, however, complained to the Hoppo, who showed strong displeasure at the conduct of the French, and forced Captain Delaroque to apologize; but the friction continued, manifested chiefly by struggles for precedence.

On October 10th a house was hired at Canton for 'only 50 Tale for the whole Monsoon', and servants were engaged. On the 17th 'I paid ye Hoppo

	Tls.
ye Measurage Money for our Ship	480·00
To his Officers 10 ℘ Ct. upō Do. accot being ye fees	48·00
To Discount for Sisie[1] 7 ℘ Ct.	33·60
To Allowance for ye Ballance	7·00
	568·60

On October 18th a further advance was made to Hunshunquin of 'one Chest of Silver, Tls. 2,880·39',[2] and on the 21st another of Tls. 5,843·43, making a total of 15,000 dollars to date; at the same time he deposited 25 shoes (ingots) of gold (weight 250 taels, value Tls. 2,187·72, touch not noted) as security. On the 24th and 25th the hatches of the ship at Whampoa were unsealed, the lead weighed on board, and the bales of woollens sealed and sent to 'our house' in Canton.

Mr. Douglas had been very successful, far more so than any supercargo of any ship previously visiting a Chinese port. He

[1] Silver ingots, nominally 1,000 fine.

[2] This chest of 4,000 dollars is the first recorded as containing more than 2,000, but was the customary size with the English Company.

had received a friendly welcome from the Hoppo, and most generous terms for measurage of the ship; he had given presents in the customary Oriental manner, but had not been subjected to extortion; he had sold his entire stock on credit to a reputable merchant of good standing; and against his sales had contracted for almost a full lading for his ship. He might well, and doubtless did, congratulate himself on his position; but from this date for nine months, until the middle of July, 1700, he was fighting for his money, his goods, and his contracts.

On October 27th Hunshunquin was 'detained prisoner by a great Mandarin, Sin Loya, who was gone to visit the Chuntuck [Viceroy, residing at Shiuhing] and not expected to return for several days'; no charge had been preferred, but 'itt was believed because he had refused to admitt the Chunquin's and some other great Mandarines Merchants to be concerned w^th^ him in our Contract'. Mr. Douglas wished to intervene, officials and merchants urged him to do so, but the prisoner sent repeated messages asking him to have patience and to take no steps. After ten days Hunshunquin was released, after having refused several offers to share in his contract. Four days later a warrant was issued for his arrest by the En-Sha-See,[1] bribed or instigated thereto, as Mr. Douglas records, by 'severall Mandarines Merchants who had combined against him'. Hunshunquin then went into hiding, but two days later he emerged, having nearly overcome his difficulties.

All this delayed the examination of the bale goods, but, when it was entered on, Mr. Douglas learned the 'Emperor's Customes' on imports:

		Tls.
Broadcloth	℔ 10 cubits (141 inches)	0·50
Cloth Rashes	,, ,, ,, ,,	0·50
Perpetts	,, ,, ,, ,,	0·15
Says, Shaloons	,, ,, ,, ,,	0·15
Cambletts	,, ,, ,, ,,	1·00
Lead	℔ Picul	0·30

Upon all w^ch^ pryces y^e^ Hoppos charges a Duty of 24 ℔ Ct. to y^m^ selves, over and above y^e^ Emperour's; there are other additional Dutyes to y^e^ amount of 16 ℔ Ct. upon some, and 18 & 19 ℔ Ct. upon other Goods to y^e^ Hoppos under Officers and Servants; besides severall Presents and other Port Charges.

[1] An-ch'a-sze, the Provincial Judge, ordinarily styled Niehtai.

Hunshunquin, now free, proposed that the woollens should be sent to his house, where there was more room to open them out and measure them, and where he could sell them more easily. This was done; and then at once the merchant discovered damage, inferior quality, short length, and poor colour, and he began to claim allowances. Some were granted, after long discussions: 15 per cent. on 45 half-pieces of broadcloth, 30 per cent. on 68 pieces of cloth rashes, amounting to Tls. 1,183, for damage (probably sea damages in those days of long voyages, uncoppered ships, and defective packing); and Tls. 177 for short length; Mr. Douglas resisted the claims for alleged faulty colour and inferior quality, but at the end of January was forced to allow Tls. 529 for faulty colour.

During Hunshunquin's time of trouble, the Hoppo claimed an advance of 800 taels on account of duty on the woollens sold. This, under the contract, was to be paid by the purchaser; but, in the circumstances, Mr. Douglas paid it, charging it to Hunshunquin's account. On November 16th the Hoppo again claimed 1,000 taels for duty; Mr. Douglas protested, but, after further discussion, he lent the money to the Hoppo, on Hunshunquin's guarantee for repayment. On December 1st a claim was made for 2,000 taels additional; Mr. Douglas demurred, but 'we were obliged to advance it, and took the Secretary's receipt and our Merchant's Note for the amount'.

Now came market troubles which upset all the supercargo's and the merchant's calculations. On December 16th 'we received advice of the arrival of a Manila Ship at Macao, with a Stock of 500,000 Dollars, or at least 300,000 Dollars, to be invested in Raw and Wrought Silks, which has considerably raised the price of those Goods, and makes our Merch^{t} looke very discontented for he will be a great looser by our Silke, in case it does continue att y^{e} present pryce'. Then on December 27th Mr. Douglas records that he was 'sencible of our Cloth being coarse, and in no demand, for we found that no person enquired for it, the Shops still having some of Mr. Willmot's on hand, and more coming in daily from Emoy'. At an earlier date he recorded that, even after deducting for the damage to the goods, they were 'much better sould y^{n} I am advised such

Goods have done at Emoy'; but later, without especially noting the connexion, he states that English cloth is being brought from Amoy and sold at Canton at 30 per cent. less than his cloth can be sold for, thus spoiling his market.

These conditions of the market produced three results. Hunshunquin claimed an advance of 30,000 taels in dollars, to pay for the export goods which he had contracted to deliver, since he could not readily dispose of his purchases of English cloth; he was driven to admit his competitors, the other merchants, to share in the trade of the *Macclesfield*; and he was forced to fight for his own hand, if, with a falling market for cloth and a rising market for silk, he was to avoid bankruptcy. He was then, for the next six months, no longer an ally of Mr. Douglas, but a competitor—an enemy within the gates. After a struggle the advance of 30,000 taels was made; Hunshunquin made contracts with the other merchants, but he made them in Mr. Douglas's name; and, owing to his difficulties, Mr. Douglas lost the monsoon.

Difficulties he had in abundance—with Hunshunquin, with the other merchants, with the Customs. To the last he had to pay fees for unsealing the hatches every time he discharged or loaded cargo, 'amounting to 50 Tale each time, and likewise allowance for diet to the Officers during attendance'; but he records several instances when the Hoppo came to his help in dealing with the merchants, who were constantly trying for a readjustment of prices, to secure an abatement in the price of cloth, and an increase in the price of silk and other Chinese products. After many days the merchants insisted on returning cloths to the value of 20,000 taels; and when this was agreed to, they then refused to return them, and insisted on an abatement. The Hoppo had by this time had too much of the trouble, and washed his hands of the whole affair; whereupon Mr. Douglas threatened to appeal to the Chuntuck [Viceroy] and the Fuioon [Governor],[1] but this only led to counter petitions from the merchants containing many allegations against Mr. Douglas and his ship. Then came a struggle by the merchants to compel

[1] Fuioon = Fuyuen (Fu-pu-yuen), commonly styled Futai, the Governor of the province of Kwangtung.

Mr. Douglas to accept wrought silks at their prices, in substitution for raw silk at contract price.

At the end of March 1700, the Viceroy and Governor took cognizance of the matter and ordered the *Macclesfield* to leave forthwith. Mr. Douglas refused to go until he had a settlement of his accounts. This led to a judicial investigation by the Namhoi Hien, who had been instructed by the Viceroy and Governor to inform them why the ship had not gone. In the middle of April the Hoppo came to the rescue, in providing Mr. Douglas's release from his difficulties, and a good bargain for himself. He offered to take over all the English cloth in dispute, valued in Hunshunquin's original contract at 22,000 taels, and to pay for it by the delivery of 110 piculs of best quality raw silk; but, twenty-one days later, the bargain was repudiated. In the meantime the merchants succeeded in imposing about 12,000 taels worth of wrought silks on Mr. Douglas, who would otherwise not have accepted them. On May 22nd the Hoppo offered to buy half the cloth for '6,500 Tale Sycee', spot cash; after eight days' debate this was accepted.

May 31. This morning we went to receive the money for half the cloath, and [he] paid us only in all 5,000 Tailes according to his weights in several sorts of Silver; all which did not amount to Sizé [Sycee], viz[1]

Piller[1] Dollars	. . . . .	Wt.	400 Taile
Do. Mexico	. . . . .	,,	2,000 ,,
Sizé	. . . . .	,,	2,500 ,,
Bad Silver 80 touch	. . . .	,,	100 ,,

The value of all which comes to, in Current money, 5,120 Ta. They required the cloath immediately to be parted; but we put them off with an excuse for that time, being desirous to carry home that money first, before we positively refused to deliver the Cloath.

Mr. Douglas persisted in his demand for the full tale of 6,500 taels, and there was a row. The next day the Hoppo sent Mr. Douglas's interpreter to the house in chains; the third day he sent Hunshunquin with chains to be put on him; the fourth day the Hoppo 'sent only 1,500 Tailes, and that but part Sizé; which in Current money is but Tls. 1,559·10, which wants above 200 Taile to compleat the Sum agreed upon to make all to be

[1] Pillar dollars from the mints of Spain, having the Pillars of Hercules in the design.

Sizé '.[1] After stipulating that the 200 taels should be set off against Customs duty, Mr. Douglas divided the cloth equitably; at the prices of Hunshunquin's contract, he retained for himself cloth to the value of 9,149 taels, and gave to the Hoppo a larger share valued at 11,000 taels, for which he had been paid 6,500 taels.

The next day, June 5th, the magistrate again intervened and put the interpreter in chains to enforce an answer to the question, 'Is the ship to sail, and when?' On June 17th, when the detailed record ends, the interpreter was still a prisoner in chains.

The *Macclesfield*, having lost her monsoon, left Canton for 'Chusan, the Port of Lingpo [Ningpo]', on July 18, 1700, taking from Canton the following cargo, obtained under such difficulties:

		Tls.
Tutenague, 248 piculs	cost	714·50
Raw silk, 69½ piculs	,,	9,536·80
Woven silks	,,	13,075·90
Tea of the best quality, 160 piculs	,,	4,109·00
Quicksilver, 64 piculs	,,	2,864·00
Pepper, 1,000 piculs	,,	5,600·00
Brass cash ('a sort of small money formerly curr[t] in y[s] place, but now cry'd downe'), 120 piculs	,,	510·00
Fans, 100,000		?
Tea-tables, inlaid m. o'pearl, 300 nests of 6	,,	300·00
Musk, 245 tael weight	,,	183·88
Chinaware in tubs of varying sizes	,,	1 147·46
Gold ingots, 776½ taels weight, various touch	,,	6,887·10
	Total cost	44,928·64

Against this Mr. Douglas still retained one-fourth of his original stock of goods; but what portion of his dollars he had in hand cannot be ascertained.

At Chusan, i.e. the port of Tinghai, where he arrived on August 6, 1700, he found two ships in port, the galley *Trumball* from London, and the ship *Bombay Merchant* of Bombay. By them his market was again spoiled, and he was 'disappointed in the prices, both as to Sales and Investments'; but he

[1] The calculation is as follows:

		Tls.	
2,400 taels in dollars, 900 fine	. .	2,160	Sycee
2,500 ,, ,, sycee, 1,000 fine	. .	2,500	,,
100 ,, ,, silver, 80 touch	. .	80	,,
1,500 ,, ,, mixed silver	. . .	1,559	,,
		6,299	,,

succeeded in 'procuring the quantity of Silk desired', and the *Macclesfield* left Chusan on December 24th, arriving off Portsmouth on July 1, 1701, 'with a rich and full cargo'.

Mr. Douglas's opinion of the Chinese, with whom he had to deal at Canton, may be gathered from his note made in January, when he was only at the beginning of his serious troubles:

Y^e^ many troubles & vexations we have mett w^th^ from these subtile Chineese—whose principalls allow them to cheat, & y^r^ dayly practise therin have made y^m^ dextrus at it—I am not able to expresse at y^s^ time; and however easie others may have represented y^e^ trade of China, nether I nor my Assistants have foūd it so, for every day produces new troubles, but I hope y^t^ a little time will put an end to them all.

IX

THE CONDITIONS OF CHINESE TRADE

The English had now, at the opening of the eighteenth century, thrust their feet over the threshold of the China trade, but had not yet obtained a seat at the table; and we have sufficient data to enable us to examine the conditions under which they conducted their trade, and especially the character of the people with whom they had to do business.

In Tongking, among an Indo-Chinese people, who had adopted Chinese customs, laws, and literature, and who were nominally vassal to China, they were subjected to the caprices and exactions of the King, the Prince, and the officials—'while we were out, we might have kept out, but now we are within the king's power, we must be obedient thereto,' was what the factors were told. No sales or purchases appear to have been made except with the King, or the Prince, or the officials; the King fixed his own prices, modified only by himself on protests being made by the factors; and the officials accounted for the goods they dealt in, 'at the King's prices only'. The *Loyal Adventure* had the same experience at Mindanao, where the King and the Admiral engrossed all the trade. The same claims were made in Formosa under the rule of the Ming partisan, Koxinga; and it may be taken as a rule through the Far East that the governing powers claimed a monopoly of all transactions in which they saw any profit to themselves. The merchants were nowhere in evidence.

At Amoy, under Manchu rule, it was again the governing powers that kept the trade in their hands. The merchants, indeed, came forward timidly, but promptly withdrew when their rulers appeared. These rulers were Manchus, rude, unlettered, warlike, flushed with conquest; the conquered Chinese were abject, and had not acquired, as they did later, the natural ascendancy of the trained mind over the untrained; the Manchus had not yet learned the methods by which the sheep of trade

might be shorn, without skinning them outright, and the English traders were skinned with no compensating advantage from trade. In the case of the *Delight* in 1684, the Manchu soldier, 'Twalaw-yea Chunkung', did one turn of trade, and the chief civil magistrate, 'Chu Toyea', did another, with advantage to themselves; these Manchus and other Manchus in authority exacted presents to the value of £2,000; and, after all, the ship was sent away with no free trade—i. e. none with independent merchants. The other ships visiting Amoy in the years succeeding were treated with no greater consideration. In one year we note the presence of a 'Hoppo', if he is correctly designated, an Imperial Customs officer; but, during the two centuries following, the Amoy (and the Foochow) Customs were under the Tartar-General at Foochow, subject to his authority and contributing to his personal exchequer.

At Canton in 1700 we have a new phase, a more highly developed system. The Hoppo received the *Macclesfield* with great benignity; he had learned, doubtless from his shrewd Cantonese advisers, that the foreign trader must be lured on, and not frightened away by extortionate demands at the threshold; and, without pressure, he abated considerably his claims for measurement dues. He seems to have tried to help Mr. Douglas in his difficulties; but he took care to exact from the supercargo the Customs duty which the Chinese merchants should have paid, but which adverse market conditions made it difficult for them to pay; and at the end he made a profitable bargain, in forcing a sale of cloth to himself at half the price at which it had been sold nine months before. The bargain was even more advantageous than appears: he was approaching the end of his term of office—in later times, and presumably then, three years—and on his return to Peking he would sell in a better market than Canton, in a climate better suited for woollen cloth, and in a market not accessible to foreign traders; and he would carry his cloth there without the taxation which ordinary Chinese traders must pay.

But the outstanding novelty in the *Macclesfield's* experience was the existence of 'the Great Mandarins Merchants'. We have first Hunshunquin, the King's Merchant, who had been the 'King of Canton's Merchant, before it was reduced to a

Vice-Royship'. He had been wealthy, but had suffered losses, and he represented a dispossessed king;[1] but Mr. Douglas observed the great respect shown to him by the other merchants, and his ability to resist the machinations, not only of the merchants, but also of even the highest officials. Of all the Chinese who had as yet come into touch with the English trade, Hunshunquin is the only one who approximates to the Hong merchants of later times, whose wonderful combination of business shrewdness and commercial honour has been praised by so many foreign observers. And yet, when the market turned against him and he was faced with heavy loss and the prospect of bankruptcy, he defended himself much like an ordinary business man.

Besides him there were Shimea the Chuntuck's merchant, who represented the Viceroy of the Two Kwang and had his backing, and who was 'esteemed the greatest Merchant in Canton'; the Chunquin's Merchant, who similarly represented the Tartar-General, an officer who, under the Manchu regime, always had rank, and at that day had power, fully equal to that of the civilian Viceroy; and there was mention made of one representing the Fuyuen, the Governor of the province of Kwangtung. When these merchants had a hand in any affair, their backing enabled them to dominate all others—even among their own countrymen, 'few care to deale with such great Mandarine's Merchants, because their masters for their own advantage doe often bear them out in their roguery'. At one time or another each of these highly-placed officials intervened to coerce Mr. Douglas and to compel him to give his particular merchant a share in Hunshunquin's contract. At one stage the 'Le-an-taw,[2] a great Mandarin', intervened 'to offer his services towards procuring our dispatch, provided we would petition him for the purpose', in other words, provided they would send him a considerable present; at other stages the Viceroy and the Governor, and at

[1] The last Ming Emperor committed suicide in 1644; the Ming prince Kwei Wang was driven from Canton by the Manchus in 1650; but the Manchus were not able to devote much attention to southern China for a few years, and the Emperor nominated three Chinese as vassal princes in the south. This plan could hardly have continued beyond 1683, on the conquest of Formosa.

[2] Liang Tao, the Grain Commissioner, charged with the supervision of the grain tribute from the province.

others the Tartar-General, set the machinery of the law at work against Mr. Douglas's interests. One point must be noted, however: in all claims for abatement or for allowances, in all the attempts to fleece Mr. Douglas, the original contract was never repudiated; in all the discussions with Hunshunquin himself, with the three merchants who were admitted to share in it, with the Hoppo who took a part of the cloth, the prices and conditions of the contract were the basis from which the argument started.

In all Mr. Douglas's trading at Canton, not once did he succeed in having dealings with any merchants other than the four who were 'great Mandarins' Merchants', and enjoyed official protection; the unofficial traders, however much they might wish to share in the trade, 'durst not break y^e^ way' in opposing the great ones.

In 1703 Captain Alexander Hamilton[1] was in command of a large 'country' ship, mounting 40 guns, the largest of 'twenty-two Hundred' each, and manned by a crew of 150; when near Macao, on his way to Canton, his ship was dismasted in a typhoon, but he rigged jury-masts and made his way into Taipa anchorage. The Viceroy's attention was drawn to the ship, and he 'ordered the Hapoa [Hoppo] or Custom-master to go and take an Account of our Goods, and take the Emperor's customary Dues, and give me a free Toleration to trade'. The Hoppo came to Macao, as he had done for the *Macclesfield*, and 'brought three Merchants along with him to buy our Goods'. The ship was measured; but with the request that the goods should be sold to the three merchants, compliance was evaded, and the cargo was transferred to small junks and taken to Canton. There the Hoppo 'ordered me lodgings for myself, my Men and Cargo in a Haung or Inn belonging to one of his Merchants'.

For a week no traders came near the captain, and on inquiry he was informed that 'those three Merchants, or rather Villains, Linqua, Anqua, and Hemshaw had paid to the Hapoa 4,000 Tayals for the Monopolization of my Cargo, and that no Merchant durst have any Commerce with me but they'. His cargo he valued, 'according to the current Market', at 14,000 taels; and,

[1] *A New Account of the East Indies*, by Captain Alexander Hamilton. 2 vols. London, 1744.

as he could not get a fair value from 'those three', he resolved to appeal to the Viceroy. He applied to the Chumpin [Tsung-ping] for a passport. Then pressure was applied to him: his interpreter was thrown into prison and was kept there so long as Captain Hamilton was in Canton; and he sold his cargo for 80 per cent. of its value.

After I had delievered them, I desired to settle Accounts, and to have my Money according to Contract. They made up a large Account of Charges, as 3,000 Tayals for the Measurage of my Ship, 1,000 for Liberty to buy Masts, Cordage and Provisions, and 1,000 Tayals for Presents to some Mandereens, and then they told me, for what remained I should have Goods at the current Price of the Market, tho' I was obliged to take them between 40 and 50 per Cent. higher. They made me pay 13 Tayals per Chest [picul] for Japon Copper, which I could have bought for 9 Tayals, and for China Copper I was charged ten and a half, which I bought at Maccao for seven, some Fir Masts that I cheapned for 60 Tayals they made me pay 250.

Having thus parted with his cargo in truck for about half its value, Captain Hamilton asked permission to return to Macao. This was refused; and he was given clearly to understand that he could not leave 'till I had laid out 10,000 Tayals of Silver with them, which they were informed I had on board of my Ship'. This silver he did not have; and he resolved to arm the twenty-five English sailors who were with him in Canton, and fight his way to the boats, and so to Macao. In view of the preparations which were made to 'run a Muck', the Chinese authorities gave way and allowed him to leave.

Two of his merchants came to Macao to complete the execution of the contract—there is here the same scrupulous regard for the literal fulfilment of a formal contract as in Mr. Douglas's case—but, when his goods were received on board,

I found wanting 80 Chests of Japon Copper, and some Toothenague, that I had weighed off at Canton, and put the Stocks Mark on them. I ask'd the Reason why they did not deliver those Goods, since, according to their own Account, there was a Balance due to me of 1,800 Tayals. They told me that they would give no more, and the Balance they would keep, for fear they should lose on my imported Cargo. . . . Next Day I sent them my Account, wherein I shewed that they and the Hapoa had cheated me of 12,000 Tayals, and that I should not fail to make Reprisals when I met with any Effects of theirs.

Such a breach of contract and such wholesale robbery was followed by retribution, which was as prompt as it was unusual. No long time after

> Accordingly I did at Jahore, by the King's Permission, seize a Jonk of theirs, and secured their Books of Accounts, having two Portuguese Natives of Maccao, who could speak and write Chinese, and they found out what Merchandize belonged to those Villains, which I took on board of my own Ship, among which was my 80 Chests of Copper, and 200 Peculs of Toothenague, with my own Mark on them.[1]

Canton was described by Captain Hamilton as a busy mart, with 900,000 population within the walls and one-third of that number in the suburbs; 'and there is no Day in the Year but shews 5,000 Sail of trading Jonks, besides small Boats for other Services, lying before the City.'

We have also another contemporaneous picture of trading at Canton, in the account of Charles Lockyer,[2] who sailed from Whampoa on the London Company's ship *Stretham*, in December 1704, eleven months after Captain Hamilton's departure; but, while the latter narrated his own experience only, Lockyer gave general directions and cautions for trading with the Chinese, based on the experience of his own ship and others. Of the leading merchants several names are found in both; but neither makes any mention of the 'great Mandarins Merchants'. The appointment of the 'Emperor's Merchant'[3] had apparently entailed the suppression of other privileged traders; and his suppression had thrown the foreign trade more under the sole control of the Hoppo (the senior Hoppo) than was the case in 1700.

Next to the Chop for the ship to enter the river, the most important Chop to be obtained from the Hoppo was one granting freedom of access for merchants coming to trade with the supercargoes. Lockyer observed no overt limitation to this freedom, and the *Stretham's* supercargoes seem to have had dealings with all sorts and conditions of merchants. Of the leading merchants, Lockyer mentions three in terms of commendation—'I look upon Leanqua to be a very honest man;

[1] Cf. *postea*, p. 137.
[2] *An Account of the Trade in India*, by Charles Lockyer. London, 1711.
[3] Cf. *postea*, pp. 119, 131, 139 seq.

so are Anqua and Pinqua for Chinese.' His opinion of the Chinese in general may be gathered from the advice of the supercargoes, whose opinions he quotes with approval:

When they know to what Proportion of Money and Goods you'll trade, and so what Goods you require in return, and the Prices, you will find them very dilatory and unreasonable in their Demands, in which you must acquiesce, but hasten them to a Conclusion, as soon as you can ; which, when 'tis agreed on, must be sign'd in the Presence of the Mandareens, whom you must get to be bound for the Honesty of the Merchants you deal with.

Some of them that buy your Goods upon Truck, will frequently return them again to you ; tho' had in their Possession two, three, or four Months, when they are like to be Loosers by the Bargain, pretending Damages, Defection, &c. which if you refuse to take, you'll suffer in the Balance of Account.

Your Factory being free for every one to bring in his Goods, according to the Chop ' Comay ',[1] you must expect to be visited by the greatest Sharpers in China ; some with one thing, some another to sell. . . . There is nothing like punishing a Chinaman in his Pocket.

A great many of these Fellows will drop into your Chamber one after another, under pretence of selling the Commoditys they bring with them, and seem to quarrel who shall shew first, and afford the best Penny-worths, on purpose to amuse you, while others of their Comrades pilfer and steal in the mean time. Their long Coats favour this Design ; nor want they Cunning or Boldness to attempt the most hazardous and daring Enterprizes. . . .

Tho' the head sort of People may be void of other than just Designs ; there are enough in mean Circumstances, who had rather trick for Diversion, and prove themselves Masters of the Faculty, than let their Hands be out of use, and honestly loose the Slight, they have from their Cradles been acquiring.

In weighing see the Beam is not one side longer than the other. Some have two Holes in the Ends of the Beam, or Notches for the Scales to hang in, which, as they are used, will augment or diminish the Weight ; in others . . . in the Dotchin,[2] an expert Weigher will cheat two or three per cent. . . .

Lockyer ends his advice on dealing with the merchants by recommending that all agreements be reduced to writing—' For, tho' they may be Rogues enough in their Hearts, they don't care to appear so in writing '.

In dealing with the officials, every precaution was to be taken

[1] The Chop granting freedom of access. *K'o mai*, ' permitted to buy '.
[2] Dotchin, steelyard.

to have agreements settled clearly in advance. Especially were the measurement dues to be settled 'before you budge from your first Anchorage in Cabaretta Bay [Taipa], where you may lie a week before it is effected . . . We paid near 820 Tale Sisee, as did two other Ships in Company, each about 350 Tuns; I know not the just Rates; but enough to convince me, they would not have taken more of a single Ship at Vampo.' This payment of measurement dues shows that the accretions were larger or more numerous than for the *Macclesfield*,[1] when dues of 480 taels were increased to a payment of 568 taels, an addition of 18 per cent.; if the *Stretham* was treated as a third-rate liable to dues of 600 taels, the accretions were 36 per cent.

In Lockyer's time the foreign supercargo paid the Customs duty on his trade, a practice which has not yet been noted and which was abandoned later on. We have recorded a few examples of the rates of duty on some foreign imports,[2] which agree with those given by Lockyer; and from him we have the rates on exports, of which the following will serve as examples:

	Tls.
Raw Silk (value Tls. 120 to 160)	1·800 per picul.
Woven Silks (value Tls. 250 to 350)	2·200 ,, ,,
Musk (value Tls. 13)	0·200 ,, catty
China-root (value Tls. 1.50)	0·100 ,, picul
Rhubard (value Tls. 10 to 18)	0·100 ,, ,,
Copper (value Tls. 11 to 12)	0·400 ,, ,,
Sugar (value Tls. 1.20 to 2.30)	0·100 ,, ,,
Tea (value Tls. 25 to 50)	0·200 ,, ,,
Tutenague (value Tls. 3.90)	0·300 ,, ,,

In 1708 a surtax of 6 per cent. was added to these rates; but, even so, they seem low enough in comparison with the Customs duties then prevailing in European countries. On tea the percentage of duty is conspicuously low; ostensibly it paid 16*d.* on 133 lb. weight, at a time when the duty in England on import was 5*s.* on each lb. Tea-leaf was the material of a beverage which all Chinese drank every day and all day long; and it is absurd to suppose that they paid a price even approximating to 50 taels a picul—2*s.* 3*d.* per lb. The truth is that these values were expressly 'made' for the foreign trader.

The Hoppo was sent from Peking to tax the trade, and naturally he did not content himself with the modest amount of

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 92.

[2] Cf. *antea*, p. 93.

duty demanded by the 'Emperor's tariff'. Lockyer gives a specific example of the amount actually paid as duty on 1,000 piculs of copper costing 10,900 taels:

	Tls.
1,000 Pecull of Copper at 4 m. Custom	400·00
The Hoppos have 24 per cent. on the Custom	96·00
Difference in Weights, the Emperour's being 18 per Mille larger than others	8·92
	504·92
The Emperour and Hoppos are to be paid in Sisee Silver, which makes Currant Silver at 93	542·92
Singphang has 2 per cent. Currant Silver, on the Emperour's Sisee	8·00
Lusees and other Servants 8 can. 4 ca. per Pecull	84·00
Weigher, 2 Cash per Pecull	2·00
Boat and Cooley Hire, 2 can. per Pecull	20·00
The Linguists have 1 per cent. on the value from the Merchants you buy of	109·00
The Hoppos after all this have 3 per cent. more on the Value of the Goods from the Merchants you buy of	327·00
Total	1,092·92

The linguist (interpreter) had by custom from his master 1 per cent. on all sales, and 'one per cent. more of the Merchants on all the Goods they provide'. They are described as an untrustworthy set of rogues.

Nor can I recommend any but Phillis, and him, more for his Ignorance than Honesty: For being naturally a Maudlin Sot, sweet Words and Sack will pump him of all the Intriegues his Collegue is concern'd in, to your Prejudice, within his Knowledge. 'Tis no great matter what other Linguist you hire with him, for the rest are all Sharpers.

Any person who came in contact with the supercargoes made it his business to get a percentage. The Hoppo's officers, of course, on every possible occasion. The landlord from whom the Hong was rented—

Take special care in your Agreement, not to suffer the Owner to retain the least Room or Part for himself or Friends to live in; for he'll be a Spie on your Actions, and claim a Right to 3 per cent. on all Goods that are brought to, or carry'd from your Factory.

Supercargoes were especially warned to trust to their own efforts to check fraud, and not men selected from the ship's crew,

for I have so many Storys and Accounts of their exquisite Craft, in wheedling those, they have had designs upon, that I think it almost impossible, out of any one Ship's Company in India, to pick enough sensible and careful Fellows, qualified in such a Business, to resist

their insinuating Wiles. Their Subtilty is so deep, and Faces so well fitted for Dissimulation, that there is nothing to be learnt from their Looks.

Before leaving Lockyer, an interesting note of his on dealings in gold is worth abstracting. Gold was marketed in shoes, sometimes in bars, of nominally 10 taels weight, each of fineness ranging usually from 75 to 100.

Bargains for Gold are always so many Tale weight of Currant Silver, 94 Touch, for 10 Tale weight of Gold, reckoning so many Tale as it touches; and adding or deducting as you agree for over or under Touch. As, a Shoo weighing 10 Tale, Touch 97, at Touch for Touch amounts to 97 Tale of Currant Silver of 94 Touch. Ten Tale weight, Touch 93, at 7 above Touch amounts to 100 Tale Currant Silver. Tale 10, Touch 94, at 3 under, amounts to 91 Tale Currant Silver of 94. . . . In the beginning of September [the supercargo of the *Stretham*] contracted with Leanqua, Empsaw, and Anqua, for 20,000 Tale in Gold, 10,000 at ½ under, and 10,000 at ½ above Touch, which made it Touch for Touch one with another. At that time he might have agreed for as much more at the same Price; but apprehending he had already gone above the Market, he defer'd it till the End of October, and then was forced to buy at 12 and 13 above Touch. Yet it afterwards fell to 7 above, and so we left it. . . . I don't question the chief Supercargo of the *Kent* had it at Touch for Touch after we were gone.

Gold has never entered into the currency of China, but has always been a very speculative article of trade. Taking his September purchases only, the supercargo bought 2,000 taels of fine gold = 2,417 oz. troy, at a cost of 18,800 taels fine silver, equivalent to about £6,250 sterling; the London mint value is about £9,350. But the supercargo had a supplementary profit on the transaction.

All the Eastern People allay their Gold with Silver. . . . The coursest, or Gold of the lowest Touch, is most advisable; For, in a parting Essay you get all the Silver that is mixt with it for nothing, viz. 80 Tale weight Touch 58, is 58 Tale of pure Gold, and 22 Tale of Silver Allay, which you pay not a farthing for.

Lockyer's arithmetic is not exact,[1] but his meaning is clear: the foreign trader might buy gold at or about the old-time ratio of 1 for 10 of silver, and he might succeed in improving even on this exchange.

[1] It would be exact if the touch were 72½.

VIEW OF CANTON, with the ships which carried the Ambassadors of the Netherlands Company in 1655

X

THE COUNCIL AT CHUSAN, 1700–1703

In 1699 (instructions dated November 23rd) the English Company appointed a President and Council for its affairs in China. The first President was Mr. Allen Catchpoole, who had also received a commission from the King constituting him, and his successor in the office of President, to be His Majesty's Consul-General; and in both capacities his jurisdiction extended over the Empire of China and the adjacent islands. His instructions from the Court were to 'proceed to Limpo als. Liampo [Ningpo], in the Northern Parts of China, where we direct you to settle, if it be possible—or at some convenient Port for Trade thereabouts where you can be permitted by the Government, & is most likely to introduce you directly into the Trade of the Citty of Nankin, or rather at Nankin itself, if it be practicable'. If he could not settle a factory, he was to do such trade as circumstances permitted. Like the London Company, the Court were insistent on finding, in that northern climate, 'a considerable vent for our Woollen Manufactures'. The Council consisted of the President and four merchants; and there were, in addition, two factors, five writers, a minister, a surgeon, and five English menials. It is also noted for their information that 'the House of Commons, now sitting, have resolved to prohibit the Wearing of all Wrought Silks from India' (including China).

In the chartered ship *Eaton* Mr. Catchpoole called at Banjarmassin, where a factory of the English Company had just been opened for Borneo, and took in pepper; sailing thence on July 20th, he arrived at Chusan[1] on October 11, 1700. There he found the *Trumball* galley and the *Macclesfield* galley, both of the English Company, and the *Bombay Merchant*, a country ship of Bombay. The *Macclesfield*, from Canton,[2] was then ready

[1] At Tinghai, the port of the Island of Chusan, occupied by the British troops from July 1840 to July 1846.

[2] Cf. *antea*, chap. viii.

to sail, and ' was a full and very rich ship ' ; she actually sailed on December 24th. The *Trumball* had left England with a stock of £10,644 for China, and had completed her cargo at Banjarmassin, leaving there a month before the *Eaton*.

Mr. Catchpoole was received in a friendly manner by the Chumpein (Tsungping, Brigadier-General), whom at first he calls the ' Governor ' ; but two months elapsed before he could obtain permission to land his goods. He agreed to pay to the Chumpein 2 per cent. duty on all he bought or sold ; and compounded for the measurement dues at 400 taels for the *Eaton*, and 300 taels for the *Trumball*. He still had to wait another five weeks, until January 20, 1700 (1701), before he received what he considered a satisfactory ' Chop for ano pen free Trade '. By this time, after having contracted for future delivery of 200 piculs of raw silk and 7,350 pieces of wrought silks,[1] he considered that the *Eaton* could not save the monsoon ;[2] and he decided to keep her there another year, and to dispatch the *Trumball* with part of the *Eaton's* European cargo (for which the market was not good)—500 piculs of copper, 170 piculs of tutenague, 100,000 chinaware cups, and gold to the value of 12,000 dollars ; she was to go to Batavia and there ' exchange what part of her cargo she could for Mexico dollars ', and thence sail to Borneo for pepper.

Mr. Catchpoole found that he had no access to any market—that liberty to go even to Ningpo could not be obtained except

[1] The total amounts contracted for were :

	Tls.
Raw silk, 200 piculs, value	39,000
Wrought silks, 7,350 pieces	163,800
Chinaware	17,000
Lacquered ware, pictures, &c.	2,000
Fans	4,000
Tea	8,000
Copper	8,100
Tutenague, 820 piculs	2,850
Borax or Tincal	750
Total	245,500

Only a small part of this was in hand for the *Trumball*. At the same time the Council contracted to sell all the lead for Tls. 3 a picul, and some cloth at 30 to 40 per cent. over prime cost in England. The Ningpo traders demanded dollars in payment ; but here, as usually elsewhere, lead was ' as good as money '.

[2] That is, complete her trade while the north-east monsoon of the China coast still had strength sufficient to carry the ship from Chusan down to the Straits of Sunda or of Malacca.

by express sanction of the Chumtuck[1] of the province; for permits and licences he must wait until some official came from Ningpo, or until the matter had been referred to that city, and perhaps even to Hangchow or Foochow; and for trade he must wait until the Ningpo merchants came to him. The last may appear of small importance, but the merchants' gilds of Ningpo have always been strong, and in reaching out for the trade of a foreign ship at Chusan it may be assumed that they combined together for united action. All this was not at first clearly visible to Mr. Catchpoole. It was obvious that any trade appeared to depend on the favour of the Chumpein—'which in effect is only trading with the said Chumpein or his creature'; and it was only by degrees that it became plain that the Chumpein was an unstable support, and that trade depended on others not at Tinghai. In the following May, 1701, the Emperor Kanghi was to make a pilgrimage to Putu, a 'small Island, about seven leagues off this Island, to make his offerings at the great renowned Pagoda there'; the Chumpein promised to present Mr. Catchpoole to the Emperor—a promise the fulfilment of which would doubtless have been evaded; but, on the question of a permanent factory, he declared that that favour could be obtained only through a formal embassy, and by presents (tribute) of at least £10,000 value.

At Chusan there was also a Hoppo stationed; but he was at Ningpo, and returned to Tinghai on December 15th. His absence was responsible for the delay to the *Macclesfield* and the detention of the *Eaton*.

The *Liampo* frigate, 160 tons, was to have followed the *Eaton* from Banjarmassin within a month; but, being almost disabled in a storm on September 6, 1700, she put into Macao. The captain decided, contrary to his express orders, to sell his stock in Canton, and to load there a cargo for Bengal; and this decision he carried out, notwithstanding the protest of two factors, who arrived at Macao on December 23rd, sent from Chusan with President Catchpoole's explicit instructions. On her return from Bengal, she proceeded to Chusan, and was in

[1] The Min-Che Viceroy resided at Foochow, with jurisdiction over Fukien and Chekiang. The Fuyuen or Futai, Governor of the province of Chekiang, resided at Hangchow.

port there on the President's return to Tinghai on August 6, 1702; but she was not at his disposal during his first stay.

During the first visit, the *Trumball*, which had been sent to Banjarmassin, returned to Chusan; she entered the inner port of Tinghai on August 26, 1701, in company with the *Sarah* galley, which had arrived in the outer road on July 6th. The *Trumball* brought a stock of 120 tons of pepper, 'and other things to the value of 6,527 Spanish Dollars'; she was dispatched with the investments which had accumulated in the factory, and sailed for England on November 24th 'with her full tonnage', invoiced at 72,872 taels.

The *Sarah* was one of five ships sent out to China by the English Company in November 1700:

{ *Sarah* galley, 275 tons, stock £50,611, to Lingpo (Chusan) and home.
{ *China Merchant*, 170 tons, stock £20,923, to Lingpo, thence to Surat and home.

Neptune, 275 tons, stock £36,486, to Amoy and home.

{ *Seaford*, 240 tons, stock £31,203, to Canton and home.
{ *Rising Sun*, 140 tons, stock £15,673, to Canton, Coromandel, and home.

Mr. Richard Gough, who had visited Chusan as supercargo of the *Sarah* on an earlier voyage for the English Company before the arrival of President Catchpoole, advised the Court that he did not doubt having liberty to trade there, but feared that 'the Chinese would not admit a settlement'; and the Court therefore, to provide for that contingency, 'resolved to send supercargoes with all the Ships we send out this year to China', although they had dispatched their President and Council for China. Each group of ships, for Chusan, Amoy, and Canton, was then provided with three supercargoes, who were to act with the Council, if they met any of its members, but otherwise would act independently. To their instructions to the supercargoes the Court added—'We are very intent upon promoting and increasing the Vent of our English Woollen Manufacture'; and a year later, on November 25, 1701, the Court wrote to President Catchpoole:

Mr. Gough tells us that the sending Woollen Manufacture, or other Europe Commodities will not turn us to account, because in the Goods you take from them, the Chineeses will advance the prizes more than

the profitt that can be made by the said Europe Goods;—however wee must endeavour to keep on that trade, and to promote their vent as much as possible, because the more wee send out, the more acceptable it will be to the nation, and for that we are by our Charter obliged to export at least $\frac{1}{10}$ part therin; wherefore wee continue to recommend that matter to you.

The supercargoes of the *Rising Sun* had special orders to 'bring to Coromandel [from Canton] a proper Cargo, and about £20,000 in Gold. The Court intended to continue sending Coromandel one or more Ships from Canton every year, with large quantities of Gold, thereby to lessen their Exportation of Silver from England.'

These two items are very significant as showing that, as early as 1700, there were experienced the two embarrassments which beset the East India Company during its two centuries of trade to China—the difficulty of providing any English products which the Chinese would buy, and the strain of providing the silver which the Chinese demanded.

Meantime, after the departure of the *Trumball* in January 1700 (1701), President Catchpoole had his difficulties. The Hoppo was constantly at Ningpo; in fact, if the term 'Hoppo' is correctly used, it is probable that he had jurisdiction over all Customs offices in the province of Chekiang, with head-quarters at Ningpo, and only occasionally visited outlying stations like Tinghai. When he came to Tinghai he was obviously at variance with the Chumpein, who was the dominant authority over Chusan; and he resented the grant of privileges by the Chumpein—for the Chumpein's benefit. The Tytuck,[1] the Chumpein's immediate superior, came to Chusan. The Chumpein advised the President not to show him any mark of respect, by dressing ship, by salutes, by receiving him, or by calling on him—the Chumpein had presumably explained to his superior that there was more to be made out of the foreign trader, and to be divided, if he were left subject to one authority. At the close of their stay the President and Council, in their formal report to the Court, refer to 'having been scarce a day free from Insults, Impositions, or Hardships from the Mandarins or Merchants in respect to Trade or Government', and their life could not have

[1] Tytuck—Titu, Major-General commanding the (Chinese) troops in the whole province of Chekiang.

been pleasant, or their task easy, during the sixteen months' duration of their stay.

Toward the close of their stay the Council wrote to the Court:

> We cannot tell what to advise your Honours to send to these Parts, the Natives being fond of nothing but Silver and Lead; and probably if the rest of your Goods were thrown over board at Sea, your Cargoes home would not be much the less.

This was a serious difficulty, to settle in the contract in what proportion payment should be made in goods, and in what proportion in silver, for the Chinese produce obtained for the return investment. Mr. Douglas in the *Macclesfield* at Canton had bargained to pay for his investments, two-thirds in silver, one-third in goods at the prices prearranged in the contract with Hunshunquin; and this seems to have been, up to that time, the customary proportion. At Chusan the Chinese merchants insisted on being paid, three-fourths in money, one-fourth in goods; the Council offered to pay two-thirds in money, but there is no record that the reduction was at that time accepted by the Chinese.

In all their instructions the Court had insisted on the inadvisability of making advances to provide for the future delivery of goods contracted for. Seated comfortably in London, the unwisdom of such a practice was obvious; but their agents in China were under explicit orders to procure the return investments, and to procure them they were compelled to advance money. President Catchpoole, on his arrival, had contracted for goods of a value of 245,500 taels. The *Trumball* took away 72,872 taels in produce bought at Chusan; the *Eaton* and the *Sarah* were invoiced together at 87,196 taels; and the Council left behind them unliquidated advances amounting to '51,300 Tael & upwards'.

The climax came through the machinations of the supercargo, Mr. Henry Gough,[1] and the commander, Captain John Roberts, of the *Sarah* galley, of their own Company. President Catchpoole had the first notice of impending trouble about January 10, 1701 (1702), 'from the Government in an Order for their Departure

[1] Probably brother of Mr. Richard Gough, who had gone as supercargo to Chusan the year before.

from Chusan. This was taken off by Agreement with the Chumpein, in consideration of their purchasing his Japan Earthenware for ready Money.' From that time until the end of the month, as is directly charged over the signatures of President Catchpoole and the five members of the Council (and the charge is not disproved by any later record), Mr. Gough and Captain Roberts intrigued with 'the Chumpein and Mandarin of Justice'; they worked for the expulsion of the Council; Mr. Gough declared to the two officials that no other ships would visit Chusan if the Council were allowed to remain, and said that 'the President was here over the English as a Mandarin, and had an Awe upon all Ships that should come hither'; and Captain Roberts flatly refused to obey any orders, except those given by his supercargo Mr. Gough.

That the President should claim powers as a Mandarin was, in itself, sufficiently damning in the eyes of a Chinese Mandarin; but after five days' negotiation he came to new agreement with the Chumpein, at 9 p.m. on February 1st, that the Council might remain until the arrival of the next ships. For this they were to 'pay to the General 4,000 Tael, and 300 more as a Present to his Mother; and to take about 14,000 Taels worth of Japan Earthenware, Tea, and other Goods'.

This seemed to be a comfortable settlement; but there were cross currents. The 'Mandarin of Justice'[1] had also seized the opportunity to engage in the profitable trade of the English traders, and at this juncture was attempting to force upon the Council some quantity of goods, which were to be applied to liquidating some of the outstanding advances, but which were not according to specification, and not at the prices of the contract. His pressure was so menacing that the Council had already transhipped the whole cargo of the *Sarah* to the *Eaton*, and had removed their own persons from the factory to the *Eaton*. On the morning of February 2nd, within twelve hours of the agreement, the Mandarin of Justice arrested Mr. Loyd, 2nd of Council, who had gone on shore to see the Chumpein, and confined him a prisoner in the factory. Then he went on board the *Eaton*, and after the Minister of Justice had made an Harangue of his own Greatness, and Power, and complained of the Council's not having regarded

[1] Presumably the Chihchow or civil Magistrate of Tinghaichow.

him suitably thereto, intending as the Council took it to have brought them to some further Agreement with him for their Stay, beyond what they had done with the Chumpein; with which they, deeming the Account would not bear giving more, made no Shew of complying; he told the Council that they must go away in the *Eaton*, which was then about weighing her anchor; and accordingly, in the Emperor's Name, commanded the President and Council to depart the Country; charging Mr. Gough and Captain Roberts, upon pain of Punishment, not to keep any of them behind in the *Sarah* Galley.

Mr. Loyd was then released; the factors in great haste and confusion carried their personal effects on board; and the English Company's President and Council for China sailed away, having saved the 4,300 taels which were to have rewarded the Chumpein, but leaving behind them 51,300 taels of unliquidated advances, and the unsold stock in the factory, which was thoroughly plundered before they were out of sight. Well might the President and Council report that

The Monopoly and Tyranny of the Mandarins of this place is so great that we cannot believe it Your Honours' Interest to continue at it; nor do we intend the next Shipping shall have product here, unless Your Honours have made provisions by an Ambassador or otherwise for better Terms, or that the Mandarins unexpectedly alter their Tempers.

In the meantime the ship *China Merchant*, destined for Chusan,[1] met the first force of the north-east monsoon, and, being unable to proceed farther north, put into Amoy on September 25, 1701. Under instructions received later from President Catchpoole, her supercargo bought an outward cargo for Surat invoiced at 32,473 taels, paying for it part in goods, part in silver. He was disappointed in the quantity of gold he had contracted for; but having gold to the value of £3,000 = 9,656 taels, delivered on December 19th, he ordered the captain to sail for Surat.

In November 1701 the English Company dispatched the following ships to Chusan:

Macclesfield galley,[2] 250 tons,	stock	£35,936
Union,[3] 208 tons,	,,	£29,744
Robert & Nathaniel, 230 tons,	,,	£35,640

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 112.

[2] Another ship of the same name, the *Macclesfield* frigate, was this year consigned by the same Company to Banjarmassin.

[3] Another ship of 140 tons of the same name was in March 1701 (1702) consigned by the London Company to Amoy. They received their name in honour of the impending 'union' of the two Companies.

In their instructions the Court expressed their approval of a project which had been repeatedly advocated by President Catchpoole, to settle a permanent factory at Pulo Condore, to serve as a base of operations for the China trade—to fulfil the function which was, a hundred and forty years later, to be fulfilled by Hongkong; the only alternative was a formal embassy to the Emperor of China; and, without one or the other, the President insisted that no trade could be obtained in China on fair terms. The Court now gave orders that all ships were to call at Pulo Condore on the homeward voyage.

On his departure from Chusan President Catchpoole went to Batavia and, by favour of the Dutch Resident, remained there. The three ships found him there in June 1702; and with them he and two of the Council arrived at Chusan on August 6th, finding there the *Sarah* galley and the *Limpo* frigate. From Mr. Gough and Captain Roberts they received an inventory of the stock left on their departure from Chusan in February, and a ' notice that the Contract for the *Sarah* Galley had been some time compleated and all was on board her ready to sail '. The notice further ' mentions to amount of Taels 9,326 in Raw Silk, Hannoes, Goshees, Japan & China Ware '.

Unless there is a clerical error in the record, this amount of 9,326 taels given as the value of the investment on the *Sarah*, then fully laden, is difficult to understand. On the eve of leaving Batavia in June, President Catchpoole wrote to the Court:

> The Debt due from Euloyah, the late Chumpein's Secretary of Chusan, and others is 33,308 Tale.[1] The Account Current from London is Debtor to Sundry Accounts as ℔ the General Balance of the Chusan Books, made up to the 4th February 1701 (1702,) is 2,419 Tael. The Nett Balance of their Books makes to remain in Chusan Factory & on board the *Sarah* Galley, the Sum or Value 168,175 Tael; so that the Nett remains, on Balance of Debts, Goods & Merchandizes left in Chucan Factory & on board the *Sarah* Galley, amounts to 165,756 Tael.

Against these assets of 165,756 taels, the *Sarah* seems to have been able to invest only 9,326 taels.

Mr. Gough and Captain Roberts had delivered to the owners

[1] In all future statements of amounts, fractions of a pound, dollar, or tael are omitted; they are given only for the prices of goods or rates of duty.

the keys of the factory; and only after four days' disputation did they give the President the 'keys of the Warehouse in which the Goods remaining on shore were deposited'. They refused to give copies of the *Sarah's* journal and ledgers, or her contract; but they did give an account of what they had received from Euloyah. They 'made a difficulty of the Captain's receiving private Sailing Orders from President Catchpoole and the Council, diverting the *Sarah* Galley on her homeward Voyage, to Pulo Condore'; and, on August 9th, they 'intimated that the *Sarah* Galley would sail in 24 hours, which time the 10th of August would cover, ascribing this sudden departure to a Notification from the Chinese General that they could not remain longer'.

The *Sarah* did not sail on the 10th, but, on the 20th, a letter from supercargo and commander 'intimated that they had taken leave of the General & Hoppo, and were ready to sail'. The *Sarah* galley finally sailed on September 4th.

Before the *Sarah's* departure President Catchpoole had re-established his position. A new Chumpein had been installed since his previous visit; and, both from him and from the Mandarin of Justice, the President had a friendly reception.

> Both received them kindly, and promised that the old Debt should be paid to the Company this Season, and in the Goods contracted for. . . . The General with earnestness then assured Messrs. Catchpoole, &c., that they should have no Goods forced on them; adding that having given his Chop to them, he would stand by it, and therefore expected them to act vigorously and without fear.

The Hoppo also extended a friendly welcome; he asked 'if we could not give more than Two-thirds Money and One-third Goods', but was told that it was impossible. The President probably realized that such reassuring utterances were common on the arrival of a ship; for we find him, on August 28th, urging the Court to order all ships to call at Pulo Condore on the outward as well as the homeward voyage, and to be there directed to such port as the experience of the previous season might show to be the most advantageous; and he gave his opinion that generally Canton would be preferable to Amoy, and both preferable to Chusan.

The President, after the *Sarah's* departure, reports that his relations with his Council, and with all the supercargoes of the ships, were most cordial, and that all worked well together. With his captains, however, he had constant trouble. On his previous visit Captain Roberts had cast doubts on the authenticity of his commission as Consul-General, declaring that 'he could not be a Consul, since he could not protect any Body from the Natives'; and on this visit Captain John Smith of the *Robert & Nathaniel* repeated the same doubt in the same words. The other commanders also obstructed him in various ways; and the President was forced to recommend to the Court the abolition of all private trade, since in that they interfered seriously with the Company's interests.

At the date of the *Sarah's* departure, the three ships had discharged into the factory all their cargo, except the lead ('as good as money') and bullion.

> We are sorting the Goods for the Merchants View, and they are full ready for us; but a hindrance has fallen in our way, which may probably be for the Good of the Port in the end. The Emperor's Second Son[1] hath sent his Merchant from Pekin hither, and given him his Grant to trade with the English, and requires all Governors to assist them. Soon after his Arrival came another Merchant with the same Authority from the Emperor's Fourth Son. These Merchants, though of separate Interests so combine that our former Merchants are overawed, & durst not appear to trade. The Pekiners have brought little or no Stock with them, so that they desire the Chusan Merchants to come and trade with us, and allow them a proportion out of their Gains:—Our Merchants as yet stand off, profering to the Pekiners and desiring to keep separate proportions of the Trade. Our last Year's Merchants have got enough of all sorts by them; but they say, we shall have a great Brangle before we can conclude our Contract with them; for the Pekiners will be like the dog in the Manger.

This was a new departure—a development of the 'great Mandarins Merchants' at Canton; and in the next year the 'Emperor's Merchants' were encountered at Amoy and Canton also. For the present the only remedy that President Catchpoole could devise against these monopolizing stock-less Pekiners,

[1] The Emperor Kanghi had twenty-three sons. 'I am the father and origin of 150 sons and grandsons; my daughters must be more numerous still,' he wrote in his Will. His fourth son succeeded him in 1723 under the reign title of Yungcheng.

was to 'make a full appearance of leaving the Port', for, he argued,

> Goods will flow in upon us as soon as they have settled these things among themselves. I am assured that 600 pecul of Raw Silk shall be delivered us in six days after our Contract is agreed.

The 'full appearance of leaving the Port' worked as the President had expected. On February 10, 1702 (1703), he wrote:

> Their Emperor's Merchants have been very prejudicial to the Trade of this Port; for they have brought little or no Stock with them, and are too great for the Mandarins to dare to meddle with. They have several times this Season had Goods come into their Houses, and kept them there eight or ten days, as it were to teaze us; but towards the Conclusion of this Monsoon, and upon the Appearance of the President and Council going to Pulo Condore, they have seemed more courteous and civil; assuring us that these Delays arose from the Misinformation which they had at Pekin, that they need not bring any of their own Stock with them, but that we traded trusting them with our own Money and Goods: which (say they) since we now see you will not, we will procure Stocks against your next Year's Shipping; and you shall have very early Despatches. But what credit ought to be given to this? They will deliver no Goods but what they please; no force can be used against them; and for the Arguments of Justice and Reason, they laugh at us.

It is clear that the operations of the Emperor's merchants drove the President to despair, even beyond the troubles occasioned by the officials of the port.

The troubles began without delay, immediately after the sailing of the *Sarah*. The Hoppo put in a claim for 10,000 taels for measurage of the three ships, and customs duty on their cargo which had been landed, but not yet sold. This they agreed to pay; and then, with a permit from the Hoppo, began to reload their goods 'With great Vigor'. Then the Chumpein intervened, stopped the reloading, and 'filled our Factory with Soldiers and Mandarins'. For fourteen days he permitted

> Nobody of the Factory but our Dispencer [steward] to come in and out. At last, after much Trouble, by many Impositions we were compelled to strike up a Contract with the Merchants at very unreasonable Rates, and to take so much of each sort of Goods as they pleased. . . . They also beat down the Prices of our Europe Goods.

Even that did not secure their personal freedom, and they were kept in seclusion by the Chumpein

until we agreed to lend him 6,000 Tael, which was to be paid us out of the first Goods that came in by the hands of his Merchant Inqua. But that did not so much prevail upon us as the Consideration of his Chumpeinage, which will this Year amount to great part of the Sum.

Then they got along better. The Hoppo's term of office was near its end, when he offered great abatements of customs duty, in order that it should be paid to himself, and 'Goods flowed in very fast upon us'. After this period of abatement, however, 'whatever we have received since hath been with great Dunning, Trouble, and continual Complaints against them.' They had contracted for 800 piculs of raw silk at Tls. 140, and 2,500 piculs of copper at Tls. 10·50, but less than half of either had (on February 10th) been delivered; and they had constantly to resist strong pressure to take tea, chinaware, and silk piece goods—'the large quantities we have taken of these Goods had been by force and not choice'.

The President notes one minor difficulty occasioned in part by the Court themselves.

We have sent five Chests of Silver thither [by the *Union* to Bengal], there not being one Pan of Gold to be had even at 5 above Touch. The Silver sent is in Rix Dollars[1] and Ingots; with these we have a deal of trouble, having been forced to allow 5 upon the Hundred of these Rix Dollars; and we estimate that still your Honors are not Losers by this Discount.

A delicate way of saying that the Court were well aware that this silver was of inferior quality.

The Supercargoes friendly Concurrence with the Factory and Merchants this year has put us in much more Reputation than we were, and had they done otherwise this year and sided with the Captains, we should have been looked on only as an ungovernable Mob. He had had many Troubles and Disappointments without Doors from the Chinese;

but with concord indoors, he was able to complete an investment of 230,000 taels for the three ships.

[1] Rix-dollar, a coin made in Germany and Scandinavia, of weight ranging some mints above, others below, that of the Spanish dollar. It became the usual current coin of trade at Batavia. As the Chinese invariably accepted any form of silver, even coined, by weight and not by count, they must have suspected the quality. The chest usually contained 4,000 dollars, which weighed net 290 lb. 8 oz. troy.

XI

THE MANAGERS OF THE UNITED TRADE, 1702

On December 24, 1701, the Courts of both Companies wrote to the supercargoes of their outward-bound ships that 'the preliminaries for a Union between the two Companies were agreed upon', and that supercargoes of each in the Indies were to act in harmony with those of the other, 'as became Servants of one and the same Masters'. The operations of the two Companies were, however, still kept distinct.

In another matter the two Companies took similar action, though without previous consultation. They gave free passage to such of the 'French Jesuit Priests' as desired to return from China to Europe, giving it in recognition of the great value of the friendly and disinterested advice they had given the supercargoes.

For the season of 1702 the London Company dispatched from London to Amoy the *Chambers* frigate, 350 tons, and the *Aurungzebe*, 425 tons. The Court's instructions placed a restriction on the private trade:

> The whole Tonnage belonging to the Company, the produce of all money and effects laden on board by the Company's Indulgence, was to be laid out in Gold only, with permission to pay the same into the Company's Cash at Madras, at the rate of nine Shillings a Pagoda, to be paid in England.

The two ships were treated at Amoy as one joint stock. On June 3, 1702,

> the *Chambers* being in the inner harbour of Emoy, the Merchants were very anxious to have her unladen, as the Hoppo's term of Office expired in four days, and they could compound the Customs with him on easier terms than with his sucessor.

The cargo was thereupon landed at once, doubtless on a verbal understanding with Anqua, a Chinese merchant. With him a formal contract was made on August 20th for the sale to him

of the stock by the two ships, and the purchase of investments for their lading outwards, as follows :

	Tls.
Stocks :	
Broadcloth and Rashes, 30,111 yards at Tls. 1·40	42,156
Other woollen cloths	20,139
Lead, 1,958 piculs, at Tls. 3	5,875
Sundry commodities	5,487
Total Goods	73,657
Silver at the rate of Tls. 51·50 ℔ 60 ounces : [1]	
71,500 Ducatoons, wt. 74,986 oz. and 2 ℔ ct. advance	65,650
12,000 French Crowns, wt. 10,440 oz. and 1 ℔ ct. disc't.	8,875
41 Bars, wt. 41,672 oz. at par	35,769
53,895 Rials of Eight, wt. 46,260 oz.	39,706
Total Silver	150,000
Total	223,657

Investments :	Tls.
Raw silk, 500 piculs at Tls. 132	66,000
Japan Copper, 9,500 piculs at Tls. 10·50	99,750
Gold, enough to balance the account	57,907
Total	223,657

The gold was to be delivered ' to such amount as will balance his account at the rate of 10 Tale fine Gold for 100 Tale Dollar Silver at the true and real Touch '.

The detailed account of disbursements for the *Aurungzebe* is interesting in some particulars :

	Tls.
Port charges for measurage of ship	1,250
Charges for Presents & Fees to the Mandarins & their Officers	856
The Linguist's Wages	75
For House rent, the one half	210
For House keeping, the one half	376
Abatement to Anqua for damaged Cloth	330
Sundry Goods & Merchandize laden on Ship *Aurungzebe as* ℔ Invoice	122,150
Commission on the same paid John Dolben (Chief supercargo) at 3½ ℔ Cent.	4,275
	129,522

The contract was carried out sufficiently to provide a lading for the two ships ; but there remained in Anqua's hands unliquidated advances, stated by Mr. Dolben to amount to

[1] This makes the Amoy tael weigh 559·2 grains, or 20·65 grains lighter than the Canton tael : the proportion being 965 : 1,000.

60,000 taels, which (November 1703) he 'has little hopes to recover in after Voyages'. The Treasurer of the province of Fukien having forced the supercargoes to take 400 chests (400 piculs) of Japan copper at Tls. 13 a chest, they increased the price payable to Anqua from Tls. 10·50 to Tls. 10·85; and the price of raw silk was advanced from Tls. 132 to Tls. 138. It is to be noted that the investment was paid for, two-thirds in silver and one-third in goods.

In November 1701 the English Company consigned the ship *Canterbury*, 333 tons, to Amoy, where she arrived August 16, 1702, with a stock of £34,423. In port on her arrival, or within a few days after, were six other English ships, including the London Company's *Chambers* and *Aurungzebe*. Her supercargoes reported that

> the Amount of the divers Stocks of these Ships making a very considerable Sum, has occasioned the Prices to be more advanced then we anticipated.

They made their contract, also with Anqua, for 'Goods in barter for our Europe Goods, with Two-parts Money:

> Raw Silk, all head, 300 piculs, at Tls. 140.
> Copper, 3,000 Chests, at Tls. 11.
> Tutenague, 300 piculs, at Tls. 3·60.
> Alum, 400 piculs, at Tls. 0·60.
> Quicksilver, 200 piculs, at Tls. 46.'

Gold they found both dear and scarce. Writing on December 8th, they reported:

> Some days past arrived here one of the King's Son's Merchants to trade; but coming too late, he designs to return in a short time, After settling Matters, we presume, with the People here for next Year. It is feared his coming here may prove as bad as the Other's at Chusan, which wholly occasioned all the Mischiefs and Delays our People there met with; the Mandarins and Town Merchants being obliged to allow him $\frac{6}{10}$ shares of their Contract.

The captain of the *Canterbury* on April 19, 1703, had his sailing orders and dispatches for Pulo Condore, thence to Surat. He went into the outer harbour and remained there until May 11th. He met bad weather and put into Macao, and was there refitting

until September 4th. The ship was captured by the French in the Straits of Malacca.

The Court of the English Company had expressed their disapproval of advances, and President Catchpoole, on his second visit to Chusan, seems to have refused to make any; but the supercargoes of the *Canterbury* had remaining in Anqua's hands unliquidated advances of 10,500 taels—

> Had not trusted their Stock, but durst not but do as Mr. Dolben and others did, to whom a great deal more is due.

They consequently remained behind when their ship left, in order to ensure repayment by Anqua in money or in goods; and they wrote from Amoy:

> Oct. 5, 1703. The [London] *Union* and the *Marlborough* are both arrived here. The Supercargoes as yet are resolved if possible to keep their Money and Goods, and not trust: but I much fear they'll meet with much difficulty therin.
>
> Dec. 13, 1703. They had as yet recovered no part of the outstanding Debt from Anqua, whom they term a 'base Villain'.
>
> Jan. 19, 1703 (1704). Anqua can do Nothing for us otherwise than to give what Europe Goods we think fit to take; but the next Year he positively promises to pay us the Balance due to your Honors.

Tea was beginning, but only beginning, to look up. President Catchpoole in Chusan [1] had complained that tea was forced on him instead of the silk which he wanted; but before that the Court of the London Company, in their instructions to the ship *Northumberland*, 250 tons, sent to Canton for the season of 1701, had noted that 'Tea does very much obtaine in reputacõn among persons of all qualities'. In their instructions to the *Fleet*, to Canton for the following season, they only ordered that the quantity of tea was to be 'contingent on the quantity brought home by previous Ships'; but regarding silk they ordered:

> You will find severall sorts of Manufactures made of or with Silk, prohibited in the List to be bought up which you must be very carefull to comply with, because by the late Act of Parliament they are not to be retailed or worn in England; you must therefore endeavour to buy up as much Raw Silk as you can.

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 121; *postea*, p. 129.

The London Company's *Fleet* frigate, 270 tons, arrived at Macao on August 26, 1702, in company with the English Company's ship *Halifax*, and the two ships left in company at the end of January 1702 (1703); but there is no record of the trade done by the *Halifax*. The 'Chief Merchants of Canton' began at once to bargain with the *Fleet's* supercargoes; their prices were high, but an agreement seemed near, when 'the Hoppo sent menacing letters to the Merchants, which led them to vacillate, being off and on eight times in one day'. At the same time the Hoppo sent an invitation to come to Canton. Accordingly the ship arrived at Whampoa, and the supercargoes at Canton, on September 12th, completing their contract on the 26th.

We hitherto have bought cheaper than last Year. Our great Trouble is the Hoppo; who has had his Chop put up to forbid Entrance, and his Guards at our Door ever since we came: so that all we have done has been with the greatest Secrecy, he still insists on 3 per Cent on the whole Cargo. He besides asks 3,200 Tael for our Ship [Measurage.] On the 8th November we agreed to give 1,300 Taels, and our Merchants the rest.

The *Fleet* received her investments according to contract, but

Our Europe Goods in no demand, particularly Cloth and Perpetuanoes; of which remained in Town, unsold, all that were brought this three Years past.

The total invoice, 55,000 taels, was paid for, 39,500 taels in money, and only 15,500 taels in goods; but no advances were left unliquidated; on the contrary the supercargoes left in debt to the merchant Leanqua.[1]

[1] Cf. *postea*, p. 138.

XII

CHUSAN AND AMOY, 1703–1704

The English Company had entered systematically into the struggle for the China trade; and, while the London Company was based on Benkulen in Sumatra for pepper, the English Company had established two Far Eastern depots which served its China ships. That at Banjarmassin supplied cargoes of pepper, which the Chinese took in large quantities; that at Pulo Condore was a port of call, to which the Company's ships resorted for orders, and for exchange of commercial intelligence. When President Catchpoole finally left Chusan, he transferred himself and the Council for China to Pulo Condore. A fort had been built and soldiers sent to garrison the island; and, for a time, the English Company's ships called there regularly for orders.

By the agreement for union of the two Companies, each was left at liberty to 'get home its own separate effects', that is, to wind up any unfinished business connected with stocks previously sent out. The previous competition between them had increased prices in India and overstocked the market in England; and to allow time for the Indian markets to return to normal conditions and for stocks in England to be reduced, the English Company, for the season 1703, sent no ships from India to England, or from England to China; but three ships were sent from India to China:

Catherine from Surat to Pulo Condore and China (Amoy);
Halifax from Masulipatam to Condore and Canton;
Union from Hughli to Condore and Chusan.

The *Catherine* was to have a stock of £40,000, and if possible £50,000; the *Halifax* £30,000 in silver and as much in goods as was proper; and the *Union* £20,000 in silver, besides goods; all three were to follow the directions of the President and Council, if they were at Pulo Condore.

Apart from this the trade to the Indies was, from 1702,

conducted by a Court of Managers for the United Trade, consisting of an equal number of delegates from the Courts of the two Companies; this endured until March 1709, when the union was fully carried out, and one Court presided over the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies.

In February 1702 (1703) the Court of Managers sent out

> the *Stretham*, 350 tons, stock £10,098, to Amoy,
> the *Mountague*, 400 tons, stock £16,504, to Amoy,
> the *Sydney*, 450 tons, stock £20,195, to Canton,
> the *Northumberland*, 250 tons, stock £16,345, to Chusan;

all were directed to call at Pulo Condore on their way out, and to return to Indian ports. For the private trade the Court ordered:

> The whole tonnage of the Ship except 3 ℔ Cent for the Officers and Mariners, belonged to the Company; but as an encouragement to the Supercargoes, the Court allowed them one Cent of the Ship's tonnage as well from China to the Ship's delivering port in India, as from thence home, but they were not to exceed that tonnage, and any surplus Stock which by the Company's licence they might carry out, was to be invested in Gold, Musk, or other commodities that occupied little tonnage.

The *Montague* was at Amoy in January 1703 (1704) in company with three other ships; and, the merchant Anqua having left the port because of his debts, her trade calls for no special comment. The *Sydney* did not arrive at Canton until June 1704, when she shared the experiences of the *Kent*, *Eaton*, and *Stretham*. Of the *Northumberland* the supercargoes of the *Kent* reported:

> The Ship *Northumberland*, Mr. Rolph Supra-cargo, was at Chusan this Season, & haveing no other Ship at that Port, the Mandarins beginning to be sencible that their Injurys to the New Company's President & Councell would in all likelihood deprive them of any future benefit from the English trade, they recĕd the said Mr. Rolph very courteously & gave him all imaginable Dispatch, but he was forced to touch at Emoy as he came down the Coast for Gold, there being a great & unusual scarcity to the N.W^{d}. this Season. They loaded about 3,000 Pecull Copper at Tls. 11·00 & 11·50—Tutenague a small matter at Tls. 4·30. Anqua, who was forced to leave Emoy, under the misfortune of not being able to pay his debts to the Old and New Compa, is now setled at Chusan; and as Mr. Rolph writes, was very serviceable to him with his sincere advice, and by goeing between him and the Mandarins as often as occasion required.

President Catchpoole wrote[1] from Pulo Condore to the Court: 'Are advised not to return to Chusan without such a Stock as the Hoppo may clear honestly 10,000 Tale out of it.' Soon after, on July 25, 1703, he, with such members of the Council and Factory as were then at Pulo Condore, left for Chusan in the *Samuel & Anna* and the *Liampo*. The former ship was driven ashore and nearly lost in a storm on August 6th; but both arrived off Tinghai on the 19th, finding the *Robert & Nathaniel* already there. The Hoppo came from Ningpo at once, and benignantly invited them to enter port; but they insisted on first settling the measurage, on which 'at last he did agree at the usual rates'; and even then they would not trust him until they had paid the money, and obtained his receipts and Chops—'whereupon we thought ourselves very secure, and conceive it all the Security that can be had in China'. But as soon as the ships had come in, and the factors were established on shore, the Hoppo and the merchants began to make many unreasonable demands.

At last it centered in the Extortion that we must deliver up our old Contract and make a new one. We had then upon our last Year's Contract due about 75,000 Tales. The new Contract they demanded should be Raw Silk at 155 Tale ℔ Pecul; Copper 11½; Tutenague at 4½; and the Quicksilver at 45 Tael ℔ Pecul. The Contract in general we thought extravagantly dear, and a great Piece of Injustice that we should advance so much on Goods due on the preceding Year's Contract. So we absolutely refused. Whereupon we were confined to our Factory by strong Guards, not permitting any of us to go on board our Ships, or the Ships' people to come into the Factory. We endured this with their Menaces about seventeen days, and at last were compelled to sign Contract as above. We had then in the Warehouses of last Year's Europe Goods about 9,000 Taels worth. On which they also made us submit to an Abatement of 10 ℔ Cent.

This Usage gave us great Uneasiness; but now the close of the Year is come,[2] and we find all our Goods come in according to Contract a great while before the time be expired: considering also that we have held up the good Custom of trading without trusting,—and that we have not this Year taken any Piece Goods, Tea, or Chinaware, which they very much insisted on,—we hope it will find your Honors'

[1] The copy extant of this letter bears no date, but it was at some date in the first half of 1703.

[2] The report from which this is extracted is dated Nov. 22, 1703.

Approbation. Had we not been able to give Nine-tenths Money and one Tenth Goods, we must have been forced to have taken Piece Goods and Chinaware, all bad and dear of their Sorts.

The *Robert & Nathaniel* sailed before the end of November, with an investment for London invoiced at 118,259 taels. The *Liampo* and the *Samuel & Anna* sailed on December 8th; the *Liampo* carried an investment of 44,024 taels for London, the *Samuel & Anna* had one of 16,165 taels for Bengal. The President left unliquidated advances of 10,000 taels due by the Chinese merchants, but 'could they have procured it all, the English Company's Ships could not have taken it in'. The Emperor's Merchant did not put in an appearance.

In May 1702 the English Company freighted for Surat the *Catherine*,[1] 495 tons, Captain Jenifer, and the *Mary*, 468 tons; but, their crews being impressed, they were delayed over a month. The *Catherine* could not reach Surat, and was forced to go to Hughli, which she left on November 25, 1703, for Surat. Thence she was dispatched on April 22, 1704, to Pulo Condore and Amoy, with a stock valued at 1,88,410 rupees, four-fifths in silver, the rest in goods. The goods included 1,116 piculs of raw cotton, 'which, being only sent on trial, was to be sold at Malacca, provided nine Dollars ℔ pecul could be obtained for it'. The supercargoes, Mr. Martin and Mr. Goodshaw, 'being Covenant Servants, the Council were not empowered to allow them any Commission; they were however promised some suitable encouragement'.

Arriving at Pulo Condore on July 5th, they learned that eighteen chests of treasure[2] had been taken from the *Union* 'to purchase the Junks' Cargoes, in order to encourage the future trade'; and, on the *Catherine's* departure, the President and Council ordered four chests to be landed from her for the use of the factory.

The *Catherine* arrived in the outer harbour of Amoy on July 21st, finding in the inner harbour the ships *Mountague* and *Marlborough*; the ships *Loyal Cooke* and *Herne* arrived on August

[1] There were two ships named *Catherine* chartered by the English Company in 1702, one commanded by Captain Jenifer, the other by Captain Holman and afterwards by Captain Cruft. One was dispatched in 1704 from India to China, the other from India to London.

[2] Presumably 4,000 dollars each chest.

8th, making five English ships in all, of which the *Catherine* was trading for the English Company's account, the *Marlborough* for a separate stock, and the other three for the joint trade. The *Mountague* had been there a month, but all business was at a standstill, so her supercargo, Mr. Nicholas, stated, owing to the absence of any Hoppo, the old one having already left, and the new one having died on the way south. He also informed Mr. Martin that

the Towya [1] (that is the Emp^rs Son's Merch^t) had been there last year, and was now within few days o' th' place ; this man farmes the liberty of trading with the English of the Emp^rs Son, and exacts a ℔ Ct. from the Merch^ts o' th' towne, for permission to trade, and two or three of the most eminent are gone to meet him, to adjust this ℔ Ct., for before that was done could make no price of their goods.

Another disheartening item of news was that 'Tutenague was prohibited exportation, the Pyrate Junkes turning it into ammunition'. Both supercargoes agreed that it was wise policy 'not to trust out their money'; but Mr. Martin suspected that Mr. Nicholas was not disinclined to advance money, and, later on, found reason to believe that Mr. Chadsley of the *Marlborough* was actually giving his goods out on credit and advancing money.

Anqua [2] had left the port, and the principal merchants now in Amoy were Kimco and Shabang. A third merchant, Chanqua, had been a 'linguist' for the foreign trade ; and he was, at the time, absent from the port, engaged in ousting 'the Towya' and obtaining the post of Emperor's Merchant for himself. In this he succeeded, and, on September 1st, he arrived armed with the Imperial commission, and

he has brot down a Tayjen with him w^ch is to say, an imediate Messenger from Court,[3] who supercedes all other Mandarines during the time of his Commission, which never holds long ; the intent of this Man's comeing is to skreen Chanqua from the power of the Tittuck & Hoppo, & to receive the sume of Money promised to the Emperour's Son for this Commission.

Until after Chanqua's arrival no business could be done ; but the new Hoppo arrived on August 14th, and that enabled negotiations to be opened for the ship's measurage. After three

[1] Probably Tayeh = Talaoyeh, His Honour.
[2] Cf. *antea*, pp. 125, 128.
[3] Presumably a Kin-ch'ai Ta-ch'en, Imperial High Commissioner. Lin Tse-sü in 1839 held this dignity.

weeks, on September 5th, Mr. Martin compounded with the merchant Kimco, and agreed to pay him a lump sum of 2,000 taels for 'Messurage, Presents, House Rent, Lingua hire, and the whole Port Charges'. As the same sum had been paid by the other ships, 'some of them 100 & 150 Tons less than ours, it was useless to complain'.

The new Emperor's Merchant first set to work to organize the Amoy merchants into a close corporation of a selected few:

this pernitious Method, never before used, set on foot by the Emp^rs Son's Merch^t, by w^ch [he] draws all into his hands.

This precursor of the Co-Hong of Canton was in working order by September 15th:

The Merchants came to a resolution by permission of the Tytuck and Hoppo, that a set number of 8 or 10, exclusive of all others, should buy our Goods and Contract for the China Cargo. This was opresive to the Merch^ts that had not liberty to trade, and indeed very prejudiciall to us, for was forc't to take what this knot of men wou'd give us, when at y^e same time (as had many instances) others wou'd have given more, but had not liberty to buye—the same in the China Goods.

The members of the Merchant Gild were nominated, and their respective shares apportioned; and apparently the officials, represented by the Hoppo and the Tytuck, had their portions duly allotted. Then followed two weeks of hard bargaining. The prices were naturally most keenly debated; and, with the Chinese merchants now closely united, and the supercargoes of five English ships competing one against the other, the advantage was all on the side of the Chinese. For the *Catherine's* cotton, for example, Tls. 7·00 was asked; the buyers first offered Tls. 4·50, then Tls. 5·20, and finally Tls. 5·50, which was accepted. For copper, for which all the ships scrambled, the supercargoes offered Tls. 10·50, but all were obliged to pay Tls. 12·20. Another subject of debate was the giving of credit. Each ship accuses the others of leading the way in this 'evil Custom', and each asserts that it alone fought strenuously against it. The Chinese

answered us very short—might keep our Goods if we pleased, but if we expected them to provide theirs, must first deliver ours, for till then they could get neither Tutenague, Alum, nor Sugar, and consequently impede our dispatch, for these Goods must be sent for, else they won't come.

The *Catherine*, under this compulsion, delivered her stock to the buyers, on credit, on September 28th, on condition that the China goods should be delivered by November 10th.

It won't be thought so strange our being in this manner forced to trust a Stock, when observe, none of the Officers could avoid it for their small Adventures.

No money was to be advanced : but at once, on September 30th, Chanqua, the Emperor's Merchant, demanded 3,000 taels, ' to secure Tutenague ' ; and on October 4th Shabang asked for 4,000 taels on account of copper.

The *Marlborough*, the first to arrive, sailed on December 5th. She had ' but a small stock ', and was ' laden chiefly with Tea and Chinaware for England '.

The *Mountague* sailed on December 25th. Her stock was 33,800 taels, of which 5,000 were realized from her goods and 28,800 taels in silver ; having so little goods to dispose of, she had quick dispatch, her lading being copper, sugar, quicksilver, and alum.

The *Catherine* sailed on January 4, 1704 (1705). Her stock of goods realized 11,483 taels, and she had 44,253 taels in silver ; her charges, including measurage, amounted to 2,850 taels, leaving her net 52,886 taels to invest. At a consultation the supercargoes decided to invest as follows :

	Tls.
Copper, 2,500 piculs at Tls. 12·20 . . .	30,500
Alum, 1,000 piculs at Tls. 0·70	700
Sugar Candy, 800 piculs at Tls. 4·00 . . .	3,200
Sugar, 2,500 piculs at Tls. 2·50	6,750 (*sic*)
	41,150

The balance, 11,736 taels, they decided to invest in quicksilver 150 piculs, about 6,600 taels, and gold to the value of 5,000 taels. This calculation had been on the supposition that they could have no tutenague, the export of which was prohibited ; but they afterwards obtained 550 piculs covered by a special permit from ' the Chuntuck at Hockchew [Foochow] ', and reduced the sugar proportionately. At the close of their trade, they were much bothered—

This year the China Men have got a most pernicious Custom, which doubt they will hardly leave : they tack what Goods they have a drug

by them to that you want, and force you to take both together; so that you are compelled to take one quarter of your Lading in improper Goods.

The *Herne* and the *Loyal Cooke* were treated so badly that, in despair of having any trade, their supercargoes resolved, towards the end of December 1704, to leave Amoy and proceed to Macao or Canton. The only definite news of their doings is obtained from a letter of the supercargoes of the *Kent* left at Batavia for the next outward-bound ships:

As for Emoy, we can give you but a Mellancolly acco^{t} of that place. . . . They all complain of unusuall difficultyes, occasioned by Chanco our former Linguist, who has been at Pekin, & got a Chop from the Emperour's Son, to be the only Merchant that shall trade wth the Eng^{sh}; this power added to his natural Insolence & Cunning, has made him insupportable, & will go near to ruin the trade of that Port; the Tytuck & Hoppo are his declar'd Enemyes, & have interposed this year in behalf of the other Merchants, obligeing Chanco to be content with one half of y^{e} trade, & to give them the other, but tho' this was a very good action for the benefit of the Port, it has prov'd but of little service; for Chanco wanting money to act his part, finding himself in streights by the badness of his credit among the Merch^{ts} on one side, & the Company's orders not to give out Mony on the other hand, has sought all manner of wayes to Embroyl the English: to frighten them out of their Money; insomuch that Mr. Petty [supercargo of the *Loyal Cooke*] advices us, in his last Letter, that he was in continual dread of some bad accident, & firmly resolved to leave the Port, adding that we might expect him and the *Herne* at Macao . . . but heard no further News from them; by which we conclude that they were either embroyled beyond possibility of getting away, or that the Tituck, for the Honour of the Port, had found some way to get them Dispatch'd. . . . By the foregoing you will be able to judge which is the best Port.

The supercargoes had not been able to recover any part of the debt due by Anqua to both Companies, but they much regretted him.

Anqua it is known would agree your Port Charges, buy your [Europe] Cargo, & sell your China Cargo in a afternoon which now is three or four months business, and even then the Merchants break their Contracts as it suits their purpose, so that you cannot be sure of any Commodity till in the Ship.

XIII

THE EMPEROR'S MERCHANT, CANTON, 1704

The *Stretham* arrived at Batavia, outward bound, on October 9, 1703, too late to make her way north against the monsoon. She then traded to Malacca and Madras, often detained on the way by reports of two French ships of war cruising in those waters. She left Madras on May 17, 1704; was detained at Malacca by definite news of pirates cruising in the Straits of Malacca and off Sincapoor; and, calling at Pulo Condore, was directed by President Catchpoole to Canton, which was 'far preferable to Emoy, it being a Port of better usage, quicker dispatch, and cheapest prizes'. She arrived at Macao on August 7th, and, as had become customary by this time, the chief supercargo, Mr. Brewster, went to Canton 'to adjust the Ship's Measurage'. He brought back to Macao the Hoppo's officers, who measured the ship and demanded 1,500 taels; after some bargaining, their subsequent demand for 900 taels was acceded to, and on the 18th Mr. Brewster ordered the ship up to Whampoa. With the merchants the supercargoes had no trouble, nor were they restricted to dealing with one alone: on September 8th

they sold their Cloth and Perpetuanoes to Empsau, and the next day all their Lead to Anqua,[1] both for Cash; these Goods were not delivered till the 4th of Nov., on which day the above Merchants paid the Supercargoes for them in money. On the 12th Sept. Leanqua signed a Contract with them, in which he engaged to ship the Goods contracted for in 50 days, under penalty of 3,000 Tales. It appears that no money was advanced on this Contract, for on the 3rd Nov. having received all their Copper, Tutenague and Sugar from Leanqua, they agread to let him have Ten Thousand Tale paid.

This was the most satisfactory experience that any ship had had up to this date; but the officials had yet to be taken into account.

The usual Presents were made to the Old and New Hoppos and to their Servants; yet when the Ship was ready to sail, her Dispatch

[1] He was probably the Anqua of Amoy; cf. *postea*, pp. 150, 156.

was delayed for upwards of twenty days, occasioned as the Supercargoes supposed, by the Chophang or Chief Secretary to the Hoppo; they therefore [Dec. 15th] made him a Present of 100 Tales, which procured them their Dispatch the next day.[1]

On her way from Madras to China the *Stretham* took some opium for sale at Achin, where it was sold at 220 taels per bahar.[2] There have up to this date been no references to opium sent to China, but several of the drug being sent by one Company or the other for sale in Sumatra, Borneo, and Java.

In December 1703, for the season 1704, the Court of Managers for the United Trade sent two ships to Canton: the *Kent*, 350 tons, stock £51,450, to load for England, the *Eaton*, 310 tons, stock £29,798, to load for Surat; and to Amoy: the *Loyal Cooke*, 330 tons, stock £30,061, to load for Madras, the *Herne*, 350 tons, stock £30,043, to load for Calcutta. The Court directed the supercargoes that 'it should be publicly announced, that the Company sent no Ships this year to Chusan, because of the Impositions and Hardships we have mett withall there'. Among the investments ordered for the *Kent* were:

22 tons raw silk, if procurable at or under a hundred tale ℔ pecul and very good, to the value of Five thousand Pounds.[3]

117 tons { Tea, Singlo, 75,000 lb., estimated cost 1*s.* per lb.
,, Imperial, 10,000 ,, ,, ,, 2*s.* ,,
,, Bohee, 20,000 ,, ,, ,, 2*s.* ,,

Tea was evidently looking up; but the Court added:

We are told by some that came very lately from Canton, that there is not a certainty of meeting with so great a quantity of Tea as we have ordered. But that you must early acquaint the Merchants, you have occasion for a considerable parcel of Tea if you can meet with it very good; and encourage it to be publicly known; but you must by no means contract with them beforehand for what is brought, lest they should oblige you to take it although it be never so bad. We depend very much on a large quantity, as well in hopes of the expected profit, as on account of filling up the tonnage.

The *Kent*, Mr. Edward Herris and Mr. John Cooke supercargoes, carried a stock of £51,450, consisting of £4,966 in goods

[1] The *Stretham's* further experiences are recorded under the *Kent* below.

[2] Bahar, an Achinese weight of 200 catties, each catty being 30⅝ oz. av. The bahar therefore = 382 lb. 13 oz. The Achinese tael was worth 4 reals of eight. Mundy's *Travels*, iii. 136, 338.

[3] 22 tons = 370 piculs, at Tls. 100 = Tls. 37,000 = £12,000. The tons are, however, probably tons measurement.

and £46,484 in silver (49 chests containing 163,428 oz. for the Company, and 8,483 oz. for the commander and supercargoes). The ship arrived at Batavia on June 23, 1704, and there

> the Supercargoes met one Captain Hamilton, who had been on a voyage to Canton, and receiving some real or pretended wrongs from the Merchants with whom he dealt, he made reprisals on one of their Junks at Jehore to the amount of about 6000 Dollars, by pretence of a Power from the wretched King of that place.[1]

The *Kent's* supercargoes were naturally alarmed by the thought that the Chinese Government might take re-reprisals on any other English ships in their power, and they made a strong protest to the General and Council of Bombay.

The *Kent* left Batavia on July 14th in company with the *Eaton*, the *Loyal Cooke*, and the *Herne*; at Pulo Condore the *Stretham*[2] joined them on the 27th; the two ships for Amoy parted company on the 31st; and the three ships for Canton arrived at the Taipa anchorage on August 7th. The supercargoes were urged to remain and trade at Macao because of

> a new monster sprung up at Canton called an Emperor's Merchant, who having given 42,000 Tales at Court for his imployment is invested with authority to ingross the whole Trade with the Europeans, and that no China Merchant shall presume to interfere with him, unless for a valuable consideration he shall admit him to partnership.

They further learned that the *Sydney* was at Whampoa, having arrived fifty days earlier and done no business as yet,

> owing to the ill usuage of the Hoppo, whose office had been prolonged for three months by the Emperor, in consideration of his having had no shipping last Season.

They then 'resolved to agree for their Measurage previous to entering the river', and sent two of their number to Canton. They returned promptly, having been well received by the Hoppo, who urged them to 'make haste up the river and endeavour their dispatch while he continued in Office'. The Hoppo had also sent down two Chunquans,[3] who measured the three ships.

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 104.
[2] Cf. *antea*, p. 135.
[3] This is a third variant of the form. Here Chunquan is for Chang-kwan—executive officer.

The merchant Leanqua [1] also came from Canton. The supercargoes expressed their pleasure at meeting one whose relations with the Company had been so satisfactory; but they were disagreeably surprised by being shown a promissory note given by the supercargo of the *Fleet* frigate, for 'money lent to dispatch his ship', no intimation of the liability having been given to them. Leanqua was very nice about the matter, 'only hinting that in China interest was 2 ℔ Cent ℔ Mensem'. He also told them that the junk 'plundered at Jehore' belonged to his house, and that he had 'written proof that he had ended all matters to Captain Hamilton's satisfaction'; that his 'loss was about 11,000 Tales, and that, if this were known to the Mandarins, they would with avidity seize the opportunity to pick a quarrel, in order to extort a sum of Money from the Ships of this Season'. He further advised them to go up to Canton; but that they could not hope for a quick dispatch, 'because the Merchants were so much alarmed at the barbarous treatment of this Hoppo, that they would not enter into Contract until his successor came into Office, who was already arrived, and bore a good character *for a Hoppo*'. Leanqua also told them that

> as to the news we have heard of a thing called an Emperor's Merchant, it is but too true; that he is a man who formerly sold Salt at Canton, and was whip't out of the Province for being caught defrauding the Emperor of his dutys on that commodity, but not being whip't out of all his money, he had found means to be introduced to the Emperor's Son and Successor, who for a sum of money, reported to be 42,000 Tale, has given him a Patent to trade with all Europeans in Canton, exclusive of all other Merchants, forbidding any one to interfere with him, without his special Licence first obtained; and that this is done without the Emperor's knowledge. This Merchant has no Stock of Goods, nor credit to obtain them. The Hoppo is in course his declared enemy, because he can't drain him by unwarranted impositions as he does other Merchants, for he will pay no more than the Emperor's Customs to a nicety. So that it may be hop'd this new Monster in trade may be kept from doing us a Prejudice this Season.

The supercargoes then began bargaining for the measurage of the ships *Kent*, *Eaton*, and *Stretham*, for which 'the Chunquans demanded 1000 Tale ℔ Ship, but after much contention agreed to take 650 Tales, exclusive of the new duties, which added thereto amounted to Tls. 867·17'.

[1] Cf. *antea*, pp. 104, 126.

The account for the *Kent* was as follows :

	Tls.	
Measurage by agreement	650·00	Sycee
The Hoppo's duty, 24 ℔ Ct. upon do. . .	156·00	,,
1½ ℔ Ct. difference his Ballance & ours .	12·09	,,
	818·09	,,
Dollar Money at 94 touch	870·02	Current.

The ships then entered the river to Whampoa, and the supercargoes went to Canton, where, on August 27th, the Hoppo issued his Chop granting free trade. The discharge of the three ships was completed on September 9th ; and, on the 11th, 'the two Hoppos accompanied by the Mandorin of Salt [the Emperor's Merchant] came to the Factory to see the Goods opened'. No bargaining was done nor was any sale effected. Meantime negotiations had been opened with the Canton merchants Leanqua, Empshaw, Anqua, Hiqua, and Pinqua ; but 'they earnestly desired that should they enter into Contract, it might be kept secret from the Hoppo, and from the Emperor's Merchant as the first would extort money, and the other by virtue of his Commission might give them much trouble, the Mandarins not having yet settled in what manner this Emperor's Merchant is to be used'. A Contract for wrought silks was, however, concluded on September 15th, the Chinese merchants depositing 50 shoes of gold as security. On the 23rd a contract was made with Leanqua for the *Eaton's* gruff goods and some gold, and for the sale of all her Europe goods.

The old Hoppo was within less than a month of the time when he must hand over his seals of office. He first, summoning all the merchants to his presence, roundly rated the Emperor's Merchant because he had no stock with which to supply a lading for the ships. A few days later, on September 25th,

> he sent for the Merchants that usually dealt with the English, and having reprimanded them for not having contracted with the Supercargoes, commanded them to do so within three days, in order that he might receive his 4 ℔ Cent before he went out of office. . . . Leanqua requested [the supercargoes] would not own any Contract with him.

This is the first mention of 'the 4 ℔ Cent', and we have an explanation of it in the record.

> It may not be amiss in this place to take notice that this 4 ℔ Ct. is an imposition lately crept upon us by the submission of our pre-

decessours the two preceeding seasons. One ℔ Ct. of the 4 is what has usually been given by the China Merchant to the Linguister upon all Contracts, & the Linguist was used to gratify the Hoppo out of this sume, for his employment. The other three were at first squeez'd from the China Merchants as a gratuity for upholding some ꝑticular men in monopolizing all the business, and this used to be given in a lump, so that by undervallewing the Goods, and concealing some part, they used to save half the charge; but to show how soon an ill president will be improv'd in China to our disadvantage—the succeeding Hoppos instead of ꝑswasive arguments such as their predecessours used, are come to demand it as an established duty. If the China Merchant scruples to pay, the English Merchant shall pay, or nobody shall dare to load upon him; & the poor Linguist shall part with all his one ℔ Ct., and be thankfull he is not bamboo'd into the bargain.

The *Sydney* had shipped all the goods brought in by the merchants, but it was impossible for her to get clearance before the change of Hoppos, which occurred on October 2nd, at the full moon. The *Eaton* too, though all her goods were contracted for, could get none delivered until that date; and the supercargoes

feared that the known suavity of Hoppos in general would not be encreased in the new one by his having seen his predecessour, by the prolongation of his office, run away with 60,000 Tales, which otherwise would have come to him.

Two days after this change of Hoppo, the Emperor's Merchant took steps to establish his rights. He petitioned the Viceroy at Shiuhing, complaining that divers merchants had infringed those rights, 'notwithstanding the Chop from the Emperor's Son granting him a monopoly of the trade with the English'; and the Viceroy ordered the Quan Cho Foo[1] to investigate the complaint. At the same time the merchants informed the supercargoes that

the Emperor's Merchant having petitioned the Suntuck [Viceroy], they dared not to do any business till that affair was ended; but that they had petitioned the Hoppo to stand by them, which he had promised to do; and also to go up to the Suntuck himself in a few days.

On October 7th the Kwangchow Fu summoned before him all the leading merchants and the linguists of the factories. Those engaged with the English ships represented that they stood ready

[1] Kwangchow Fu, ruling over the prefecture of Kwangchowfu (Canton).

to do business and had ample stocks; and that they did not dispute the rights of the Emperor's Merchant, but only his ability to supply a cargo; further they alleged that he had no capital, and assured the Kwangchow Fu that 'the English were resolved not to trust out any money, and daily urged them to sell their goods, but they were afraid to do so'. The Emperor's Merchant admitted that he had no capital, but was confident that, if the English would contract with him, they would have full satisfaction. The next day the Kwangchow Fu visited the house of the Emperor's Merchant and found no goods therein; and he reported to the Viceroy that this merchant could not supply sufficient goods to load the ships. This was countered by the Emperor's Merchant, who 'offered the Suntuck's Son half the trade of the season, provided he would support his cause'.

The supercargoes were much disturbed by this cessation of trade, and feared especially that the ships intended for India would lose their season. On October 14th accordingly they waited on the Hoppo in a body, and

> urging the detriment which the success of the Emperor's Merchant would be to them, and to himself, requested his aid in defeating him.

The Hoppo promised his support, and said that he would soon go to see the Viceroy in person. On the 18th

> the Hoppo went up to the Suntuck at Saukien [Shiuhing, Ch'ao-k'ing], from whence he returned on the 23rd, having satisfied the Suntuck that the Emperor's Merchant was incapable of dispatching the ships, who in consequence adjudged in deference to the Patent of the Emperor's Merchant that those Merchants that had taken the business out of his hands, should pay him a valuable consideration; leaving the amount to be settled between them.

Leanqua told the supercargoes that the contracting merchants had paid the Emperor's Merchant 5,000 taels for the trade of the ships *Kent*, *Eaton*, and *Stretham*; and he 'endeavoured to wheedle them to pay the half, which they positively refused to do'. This is the last that is heard of the Emperor's Merchant. At Chusan, at Amoy, and now at Canton, he had arrayed against him the forces of the Hoppo and of the higher provincial officials, who saw their customary emoluments seriously endangered; of the Chinese merchants of each port, who were excluded from a profitable trade, except on condition of sharing the profit with him; and of the foreign traders, who were threatened with the

most dangerous form of monopoly, that in the hands of a single person. The Merchant of Chusan retired from the field; that of Amoy lost his season of 1703 but 'spoyled the trade' of 1704; and that of Canton shot his bolt and became a spent force.

The struggle with the Emperor's Merchant took nearly all of October; but on the 26th the 'two new Hoppos visited the several English Factories, and promised them a speedy dispatch'. The *Eaton*, loading for Surat, and therefore in haste to sail, still had no goods delivered; and Mr. Donaldson, her supercargo, was told that the merchants were summoned to deliver up their contracts, in order that the Hoppo might assure himself of his 4 per cent., and that this required the greatest deliberation and concert on the part of the merchants, 'since the Hoppo would not fail to avail himself of any false step to exact a sum of money'. After five days of diplomatic activity they went to the Hoppo in a body 'to give their names and assure him of the 4 ℔ Cent'; and on November 2nd the linguist informed the supercargoes that all was now arranged and that 'the Hoppos would come the following day to ship Mr. Donaldson's goods, provided he sent them their usual present this day—which Mr. Donaldson did accordingly'.

The supercargoes now found that it was well to be off with the old Hoppo, before they were on with the new. The imports of all three ships fell under the jurisdiction of the old Hoppo, even though the new Hoppo had taken over the seals.

> This is an extraordinary charge, haveing to do with two Hoppos, we would have avoided it if possible, but the old Hoppo would not make up our acco^{t} of Customes Inwards till we had presented him, & till that acco^{t} is made up and paid, the new Hoppo will do no business.

These minor difficulties were settled by the usual lubricants, given to the old Hoppos, to the new Hoppos, and to the officers of both sets; but even then the 4 per cent. duty was levied on everything that went on board, even to the provisions. Now began the final reckonings.

Dec. 4. The *Eaton's* account for customs was adjusted and paid and nothing now remained but to procure 'the Ship's Dispatch', which involved 'a further abominable charge to the tune of about 400 Tale'.

Dec. 6. The [old] Hoppo made up all matters in dispute with the *Sydney*, 'receiving a valuable consideration'.

Dec. 8. The linguists demanded special remuneration, alleging that 'the Hoppo swallowed the whole of the 1 ℔ Cent they used formerly to have, and that those Ships which bought Gold—which was concealed from the Hoppo's 4 ℔ Cent—could very well afford to give their Linguists four or 500 Tale'. They enforced their demand by keeping out of the way at a time when their presence was essential for the dispatch of the ships.

Dec. 9. The Hoppo's Chunquans, declaring that they had not been able to cheat their master as usual, hoped to be considered—'which is as much as to say they sha'n't go till they give them something'.

Dec. 11. 'The Linguists bro't a monstrous account of fees to be paid the Hoppo's Officers before the *Eaton* can be dispatched. We find them about 40 Ta. more than usual; but Mr. Brewster [of the *Stretham*] & other gentlemen haveing broke y^e^ ice, it is in vain for us to contend.'

One after another, these difficulties were overcome, and, on December 14, 1704, the supercargoes of the *Eaton*, *Queen*, *Sydney*, and *Stretham* left Canton, the ships sailing from Whampoa the next day.

The *Kent*, the only one of the ships to load direct for London, was now left to complete her cargo; she had the same experiences as the others, and some peculiar to herself. The Hoppo's Cophang 'demanded a Present as accustomary for not opening our Wrōt Silks, to see that we export no yellows of the Emperour's colour, w^ch^ are forbidden'. After consulting with Leanqua, and 'finding a larger sume given by Mr. Bullock, we have presented him with a 100 Tales'. At the same time, 'according to the liberty given the Supercargoes to employ one-half of their advantures in the Company's Stock, they each paid into Cash several sums, amounting to 1,800 Tale'.

The ship was delayed by the Chinese New Year festivities, lasting from January 13 to 18, 1704 (1705); but on the 25th her supercargoes were allowed to settle up accounts with the Hoppo for her 'Customs and other duties'. The linguist then presented his account for the fees connected with the ship's dispatch, 'but it amounted to 60 Tale more than Mr. Donaldson's'; [1] and he also demanded 600 taels for himself. The pinnace, 'well

[1] Mr. Donaldson's for the *Eaton* was about 400 taels.

armed ', was ordered up from the ship, and on the 27th Mr. Cooke went down to Whampoa and ' brought with him the remainder of the Silks '. Meantime the settlement of the linguist's claim had been left in Leanqua's hands. Without a settlement the ship could not get her dispatch ; and he had paid the bill for fees in full, and had compromised with the linguist by paying him 200 taels. The *Kent* sailed from Whampoa on the afternoon of January 27, 1704 (1705). Her cargo outward from Canton was as follows :

		Tls.
Wrought silks	value	80,000
Copper, Junan (Yunnan), 600 chests	,,	6,180
Quicksilver & Vermilion, 400 piculs	,,	17,200
Green Ginger, 500 piculs	,,	2,000
Tea, 470 piculs	,,	14,000
Chinaware	,,	3,500
Pepper (taken on at Batavia), 525 piculs	,,	3,600
Rhubarb, 15 piculs	,,	460
Cowries, 22 piculs	,,	60
	Total value	127,000

The supercargoes had difficulty in disposing of the stock of Europe goods.

The Earthenware [Chinaware] was mostly purchased in truck for Cloth, which they found unexpressable difficultys to get quit of at any rates ; in bartering it they observed the Company's orders as far as possible, not to mix money with the manufactures, but had they been entirely obedient thereto, they must have carried the Cloth and Perpetts back, or have given them away after having paid the Custom.

Finally they thrust the burden on Leanqua's broad shoulders, and, on the eve of their departure, ' considering how much business he had done for us this season, by which we have no reason to doubt his being a considerable gainer ', they persuaded him to take over their unsold stock at fair prices, to a total value of 2,141 taels.

Amid all their troubles there was one gleam of hope in the letter which the supercargoes of the *Kent* left for the guidance of ships to arrive in the following season.

The same Hoppo that dispatched the *Kent* will be in office till December, by a new fashion Grant of the Emperour's that prolongs his time three months more than usual. The second Hoppo is a bold Tartar, and an egrious [egregious] impudent Villain, who has got the ascendency over the Chief and all his servants. They will most surely

be very troublesome at your arrival, but you are sure of a dispatch if possible before their time is expired, for they will spurr the Merch^ts^ that they may have their Customes, & the three [four] ℔ Ct.

On their dealings with the merchants they commented :

Leanqua & Co. are grown so powerful, that it is difficult to do any business without them, and in consequence they are not so humble as formerly, but for Chinese they are honest men ; and if they please, they can keep a Ship clear from all embarrassments with the Hoppo. They stood the brunt bravely this year with a new Monster called the Emperour's Merch^t^, who by virtue of his commission, demanded 5 ℔ Ct. of other Merch^ts^ for a permit to trade with us ; but by good management, & the help of the Hoppo, he has been kept from harming us much this Season, tho' the Merch^ts^ were forced to give him a sume to be quiet. There is one of these Merch^ts^ has got footing in Emoy, & has spoyled the Trade of that Port this Season.

From first to last the supercargoes of the *Kent* and her sister ships seem not to have made a single advance before actual delivery of the goods bought ; and this they recommended to their successors, since thus ' you may always be master of your Cash, & a timely Dispatch '.

They give one interesting illustration of the problems they had to deal with. They had to decide whether they should buy copper in conformity with their instructions, and ' at the same time to provide the necessary quantity (100 Tons) of Gruff Goods—38½ Tons of which was allowed at one-third Freight—for which purpose they made the following calculation :

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Highest expected price in England per ton				120	0	0
Deduct Custom	8	0	0			
,, Freight per Ton	33	0	0			
,, Demorage & Charges . . .	2	0	0			
	43	0	0			
Prime Cost valuing the Tale at 7*s.* 3¼*d.* .	63	11	0			
				106	11	0
Profit				13	9	0

This was without calculating Commission, Customs, and Port Charges in China, which would reduce the profit to almost nothing.' The supercargoes decided to buy no more copper than they had already, and to buy green ginger, quicksilver, and vermilion instead.

XIV

THE 'ANNE' AT AMOY, 1715

THERE is now a gap of seven years, 1705–11, in the extant records of the English trade in China; but exact details can, probably, better be spared at this particular juncture than at any other. During this period, in 1709, the complete union of the two Companies was carried into effect, and the trade was under the direction of one Court of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies; but we have already been able to study the effect of combined action, and the suppression of competition, under the Court of Managers for the Joint Trade, which came into being in 1702.

Omitting all reference to the attempts to trade at Macao, none of which were very successful, and the temporary existence of the Taiwan factory, the English Company, or Companies, had sent ships to Chusan (for Ningpo), to Amoy, and to Canton.

Tinghai, the port of Chusan, was but a small mart, with only local trade. The merchants were at Ningpo, on the mainland, and when they came to Tinghai it was to an outlying station, for the special purpose of trading with the English; all Chinese gild organization was, and is, of great strength, and that of the Ningpo merchants was, and is, among the strongest in China. The officials in control of fiscal affairs were all at Ningpo, except that the Viceroy was at Foochow, and the Governor at Hangchow; on Chusan itself were only the Tsungping (the Chumpein) and the Tinghai Chow (the Mandarin of Justice), neither of any significance in the hierarchy of the Empire or the province, but of immense importance when suddenly thrust into control of a profitable traffic, at a distance from their respective superiors. Under conditions as they were, the English traders were at a disadvantage, and the more so that Chusan produced nothing of the commodities that they sought. When they resisted the imposition of conditions to which they objected, they were subjected to restraint by the local autocrat, and were kept

under that restraint until they submitted. The English agents, from President Catchpoole to the humblest supercargo, were disgusted with the conditions of trade at Chusan, and were not disposed to maintain it.

At Amoy the English made their first venture under the regime of Koxinga. When, after his fall, their ships revisited the port, it was a military outpost, and they were subjected to such treatment as would normally be accorded to traders by a dominant military party filled with the pride of conquest. These conditions improved to some extent; but Amoy was not a large trading mart, and its merchants could not assert themselves; and the English supercargoes, to the last, were subjected to the whims of autocrats, bent only on the profit of the moment. Our latest previous record notes that the *Loyal Cooke* and the *Herne*[1] were driven in disgust, in 1705, to leave Amoy after five months of ineffectual efforts to trade; and we have soon to take note of the *Anne*, driven in 1715, after sixteen tradeless months spent at Amoy, to an act of preventive piracy.[2] With the conditions of trade at Amoy also the supercargoes had become disgusted.

From Canton the English were excluded until the last years of the seventeenth century—partly owing to the intrigues of the Portuguese, defending their monopoly; partly, without doubt, because of the memory of Weddell's forcible entry and ignominious expulsion; but very largely because the Manchu hold on that wealthy and important mart was for some years precarious, and the military authorities did not venture to give free scope to the commercial abilities of the Cantonese, barely subdued, always inclined to rebellion, and, then and now, the most self-assertive of all the Chinese. The English Company's *Macclesfield* galley[3] broke the way in 1699, and was received with a sort of welcome; her supercargo met with many difficulties and heart-breaking delays, but he had some trade; and in each year after that some ships traded at Canton. It took them a whole monsoon to complete their lading, but they got their cargo in the end; and, with many complaints of exactions, of high prices, of vexatious delays, the supercargoes were unani-

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 134. [2] Cf. *postea*, p. 150.
[3] Cf. *antea*, chap. viii.

mous in expressing a decided preference for Canton. This preference was further encouraged by the discovery at Canton of merchants like Hunshunquin and Linqua, who foreshadowed the coming body of Hong Merchants.

For the season of 1713 the *Loyal Blisse*, 350 tons, was sent from London to Canton, with a stock of £34,322, including 70 tons of lead, which 'is always a staple commodity at Canton'; she was to load for England. For the season of 1714 the *Hester*, 250 tons, was sent to Canton, with a stock of £19,916, also to load for England. Two 'separate stock' ships, the *Windsor* and the *Concord*, were also sent that year, 'so over glutting our Markets', that the Company resolved to send no ships 'out and home for 1715'; but they sent the *Dartmouth*, 450 tons, with a stock of £52,069 to Canton, then to proceed to Fort St. George (Madras), 'from whence all the Tea, Raw, and Wrought Silks, was to be sent home on the summer Ships from that Presidency.'

In all three years the instructions to the supercargoes were almost identical. It was recognized that English woollens were a drug—

> that the Woollen Manufactures sent from hence for divers years past, are not all disposed of, but several quantitys yet remain in the Warehouses. . . . We have heard that the Chineeses apprehend we are obliged to send out, and therefore impose upon our Supra Cargos, and will have it at their own prices.

Each of the Company's ships was required by law to take one-tenth of its outward stock in English products; but lead found a better market than woollens.

The *Loyal Blisse* was to invest in 179,200 lb. of tea and 30,000 lb. of raw silk, besides other produce; the *Hester* was to bring 125,000 lb. of tea and 13,300 lb. of raw silk; the *Dartmouth* was to 'lay out' £10,000, half in tea, half in raw silk. They were not to 'fall short' in the quantities of tea, and it was 'at its first curing to be put in Chests and not in Tubs as usual, this Package lies closest and preserves the flavour best'. Prices had gone up in ten years. In their instructions the Court provide for paying as much as 10 above Touch for gold; for tutenague, 'seven or as far as eight Tale the Pecul'; and purchases of copper were to be regulated by the fact that it would realize

'generally Fifty-six to Sixty Pagodas ℔ Candy at Madras for right Japan'.[1]

The Court had now decided to limit the private trade more strictly, and to reserve to the Company the fruits of the China trade, especially in silks and tea. All private trade was prohibited to the supercargoes.

The Supercargoes were allowed 4 ℔ Cent Commission on the prime cost of the Cargo at Canton, to be paid [in the case of the *Dartmouth*] at Madras, the Court explaining that this exceeded the usual Commission, and was granted them in consideration of their being deprived of the Privilege or Private Trade usually allowed the Supercargoes,—and was to be Invested in Diamonds on the usual terms.

Restrictions were also placed on the private trade of the captains and officers of the ships :

Having observed that some of our Commanders have greatly abused our Indulgence to them, by bringing home great quantitys of Tea, from whence many evils have arisen. To prevent the like hereafter, we hereby acquaint you, that we will permit yourself, or y^e^ Commander of this Ship for y^e^ present voyage, & y^e^ Officers, to bring home one half of y^e^ three ℔ Cent Toñage, allowed you & them by Charterparty, in Tea, and no more ; On condition that there be paid the Comp^a^ Fifteen ℔ Cent on y^e^ gross amount thereof, as sold at y^e^ Comp^as^ Candle ; and also y^e^ Five ℔ Cent charged thereon by act of Parliament ; and Two ℔ Cent more for General Charges, and not otherwise :—excepting hereout y^e^ two hundred weight of Tea for every hundred Tons the Ship [*Dartmouth*] is let for, w^ch^ is allowed by y^e^ Comp^as^ Printed Indulgence ; and in case yourself, or y^e^ Commander of this Ship for y^e^ time being, and y^e^ Officers, do bring home more Tea than is herein mentioned, we hereby declare, that we will seize upon, & proceed to y^e^ forfeiture of such surplus Tea, & double y^e^ value according to y^e^ act of Parliament for that purpose, as being traded in contrary to y^e^ Comp^as^ licence.

This instruction was for chartered ships ; for the Company's own ships the only privilege was two hundredweight of tea for every hundred tons of the ship's tonnage

The supercargoes of the *Loyal Blisse* were informed that :

Mr. Bullock [Chief supercargo of the *Howland* and the *Hester*, sent out in 1710] had written the Court that he had some hope of getting the

[1] Approximately 15 taels per picul.

4 ℔ Cent Duty taken off—If the Supercargoes found that he had succeeded, they were to take care the Chinese did not renew the demand, or any other in place of it.

Anqua of Amoy has been mentioned [1] as owing large unliquidated advances, as having left the port, and as being much regretted; he is now needed for some special service. The supercargoes of the *Dartmouth* were instructed:

If old Anqua, who formerly belonged to Emoy, was at Canton, the Supercargoes were to inform him, that the Court apprehended they would have occasion to employ him in some affairs of importance the next year at Canton, and that he be ready to undertake the same on the arrival of our next Ship.—If he was not at Canton, they were to enquire where he was, and inform him of the Court's intentions.

In 1715 occurred an affair at Amoy which might have had serious consequences for all English ships visiting Chinese ports. The private trader *Anne* from Madras arrived at Amoy in 1714; it must have been in August, or at the latest September, since otherwise the monsoon would not have served to carry her so far to the north. She was detained there, without completing her trade, for fifteen or sixteen months; and in January 1715 (1716) occurred the events which are thus recorded in a report by the Madras Presidency to the Court:

The *Anne*, formerly the *Sherborne*, went to Emoy in 1714, with 60,000 Pag^{s} Stock and upwards—had the Mandarins promise of free trade—the Ship *Cambridge* traded also—on this the Chinese appointed their own creatures only to deal with both Ships. The *Cambridge* with much ado, got away in time to save her passage to Bombay,[2] after bearing many evil indispositions, and leaving 4, or 5,000 Tale behind, which the Chineeses promised to make good, and the *Anne's* Supra Cargoes were to recive.

The *Anne* tho' by Contract was to be dispatched in season, yet was kept all the year round, and suffered many great abuses; and tho' the Viceroy of the Province ordered the Merchants should clear accounts, and dispatch her, yet the Mandarines, Partners with the Merchants, drove the Supra Cargoes from the shore, and the Ship out of the inner harbour, tho' the Merchants ow'd them 2600 Tales besides other damages. On this the *Anne* detain'd a laden Junk bound for Batavia, hoping thereby to get justice.

The Tituck promised by a Messenger that satisfaction should be

[1] Cf. *antea*, pp. 122, 125, 128, 131.
[2] Presumably before the end of December 1714.

given them, which waiting for, 40 War Juncks full of men, and 40 Boats full of combustible stuff, came to destroy them, which a China Messenger discovered, thro' fear of being destroyed thereby. The *Anne* with difficulty got under sail, cutting her cable, and tow'd off the Junck too far for the fire-boats to follow, then came to an anchor in hopes of an accommodation, but the War Junks beginning to fire at them, were forced to put to sea, and both the *Anne* and Junk arrived at Madras 14th Feb. (1715–16).

This disaster concerns them on account of the Comp^as trade to China, for as to that from Madras, better to forbear, considering what they have suffered for so many years.

The *Anne's* merchants stated that their damages amounted to 26,070 pagodas. The junk's cargo being perishable, both the junk and her cargo were sold by auction—' but have kept an account to restore when receive satisfaction '.

The Chinese officials at Amoy were dismayed at the result of their action, and hastened to report the affair to Peking in such a way as to throw a favourable light on their own conduct.

The Tytuck wrote the Emperor that an English Ship, on pretence of Trade, had staid a great while in that port, till at last, finding a proper opportunity, she seized a Junk which had completed her Cargo ;—without telling him, that this English Ship was private Trader from Madras, or what grievances her Supercargoes had met with, to put them to such a proceeding. The Emperor, upon this first notice, despatched a Messenger [1] to Amoy, with a Commission to enquire into the cause of it. Thus he came to a knowledge of the whole matter ; and finding his own people the first aggressors, he disgraced several Mandareens, and imprisoned one more immediately connected with the native Merchants, who withheld the remains of the investment due and contracted for, and seized all his Estate.

The Peking government was manifestly sensible of the wider issues involved ; and the Company's agents were no less deeply impressed by the danger to English trade, and to their own operations in particular, through the impulsive act of a private trader. The junk was owned in Siam ; and when ' the Company's ship *Brittania* was about to go for Siam this last voyage ', the Madras Council advanced to Captain John Powney ' Pag° 1200, being what the China Junk produced at outcry here ; & gave him power to accomodate the dispute about that vessel with the Barca-Long of Siam in the best manner he was able '. Captain

[1] An Imperial High Commissioner.

Powney settled the matter for 2,450 pagodas, and the difference was paid from the Company's funds.

The cargo laden by the Amoy merchants on the junk was recognized to be a more serious matter, since that might involve the future trade, at Canton as well as at Amoy. To adjust this matter the Council commissioned Monsieur Edmé Bongré to proceed to China on their behalf, and, in consultation with the Chinese merchants Linqua and Anqua, 'who are of the Chinchu [Ch'üan-chow] country', to open negotiations with the parties interested at Amoy. The Frenchman, both at Macao and at Canton, was very 'mysterious and close—has not once opened his lips'—regarding his mission, and does not seem to have procured any result; but the two Chinese took steps at once to arrange the dispute. The sale of the junk's cargo at Madras realized 'between 20,000 and 30,000 Pagodas'; the Amoy merchants' 'loss is positively affirmed 80,000 Tales, and the Ship *Anne's* Owner's, and private demands, do not amount to more than 15,000 Tales'; and Linqua and Anqua expressed a confident hope that a composition could be negotiated. The final result is not recorded; but 'Linqua and Anqua promise that the whole expence in this negotiation, shall be at their own proper cost and charge'.

It was for their Canton trade that the Madras Council was most concerned. The news of what had occurred at Amoy in January 1715 (1716) reached Canton a month before the *Dartmouth* cleared outwards:

> yet the English were not disturbed—the Merchants knowing the ill usuage the *Anne* met with, were not surprised. The Mandarins meddle not with anything out of their own province, without special command of the Emperor—those at Amoy hide it from him. A relation of all sent by the English to the Jesuits at Court attested by their brethren, eye witnesses.

In addition a full account was sent to Batavia to intercept any of the Company's ships calling there, and give them warning of the possible delicacy of their position.

The ships from London for Canton for the year 1716 were the *Marlborough*, *Susanna*, and *Stringer*. They all received at Batavia the letter of warning from the Madras Council, and took their precautions accordingly, the supercargoes of each resolving

to wait at Macao until they could be assured of a good reception at Canton. The *Marlborough* was the first to reach Macao. Her chief, Mr. Fenwick, was in great perplexity to know what first steps to take. He ordered the ship to remain in the Taipa anchorage, and lived on board, and 'kept a fair Correspondence with the Portuguese'. He then wrote to Linqua and Anqua, announcing the ship's arrival, and inviting Anqua to come down. Anqua replied to this by requesting the supercargoes 'to proceed with the Ship to Bocca Tygris, and he would meet them there'. The Portuguese had meantime represented to them that 'reprisals were to be made on the whole English Nation'; and, though they did not fully credit this, they thought it safer to remain outside for the present. Mr. Fenwick then went up to Canton in a small boat, and saw Linqua and Anqua, by whom he was told that 'the Viceroy of Canton had promised that, as they did not come from Madras, and consequently were not concerned in the Amoy affair, they should have the protection of the Port'.

Linqua and Anqua, upon this, advised them to bring the ship up, 'and they would engage for their Safety; the Hoppo also promising his Friendship, and all the Privileges any English Ship ever previously had'. Greater security than this they could not hope for, and the supercargoes resolved to bring the ship into the river.

As the *Marlborough* was 'upon sailing from Typa', the *Susanna* arrived; and the two ships in company arrived at Whampoa on July 31, 1716. The *Stringer* reached Macao on August 8th, and entered the river at once. None of the three encountered any trouble from the *Anne's* affair, so true was it, under the Empire, that 'the Mandarins meddle not with anything out of their own province'.

XV

THE COUNCIL OF SUPERCARGOES, 1716

For the season 1716 the Company dispatched three ships from London, all to Canton :

Marlborough, 480 tons, stock £44,884, to load for Madras ;
Susanna, 300 tons, stock £22,738, to load for London ;
Stringer galley, 280 tons, stock £21,545, to load for London.

As all three together had on board only 30 pieces of cloth, 983 pieces of long ells, 120 tons of lead, and some amber, the total value of which, realized at Canton, would not exceed 15,000 taels = £5,000, they must have carried the maximum lawful quantity of nine-tenths of silver, and even more.

The Court's instructions, dated January 6, 1715 (1716), reiterated the restriction on private trade, except that the four of Council on the *Marlborough*, the ship for Madras, were allowed the ' separate carrying out of Coral value £330 to be invested only in indulged Goods for Fort St. George '. The chief supercargo

has joyn'd to our Cargo One thousand Pounds, the Second Eight hundred Pounds, & the third Six hundred Pounds. We have agreed that they shall be repaid the Principal, with the Profit to be made on the Gold part of the *Marlborough's* Cargo, without reckoning thereon any Freight or other Charges in China.

All the supercargoes were, collectively for each ship, to receive as commission 4 ℔ cent. on the first cost of the cargo bought in China; and this 4 ℔ cent. was to be divided, $1\frac{3}{4}$ to the Chief, $1\frac{1}{4}$ to the Second, and 1 to the Third : ' besides these the Writer is to have one hundred Pounds certain, & the same Profit as their Interest in our Cargo.'

The general instructions contained provisions of an important character. The supercargoes of all three ships were, if possible, to occupy one house and keep one table ; or, if that were not found to be advisable, they must consult together and act in all matters jointly for the general interests of the Company.

However we require that all applications to the Government, all Presents to be made, and all other the like transactions with the

Chineeses, be managed by the Supra Cargoes of said Ships, whether two, or all three, as if they lived in one House, and as they are one Concern.

They were to meet for consultation at least twice a week, or oftener if requisite, and were to communicate to each other, in writing, all details of their separate transactions; and the chief of each ship was to take the chair for one week in rotation.

We likewise expect that laying aside all misunderstandings, you will contribute your utmost endeavours, all the while you stay at Canton, to promote our Interest in the whole Concern of all three Ships, by your hearty advice and assistance for the better buying the several Goods, and giving them an early dispatch from China, which if you do not, we shall take it very much amiss and resent it in due time.

Specifically the supercargoes of the *Susanna* and *Stringer* galley were to 'consult and transact together in procuring all their homeward-bound Cargoes'; and they were to assist those of the *Marlborough* in getting their gold cheap, and in securing an early dispatch, which was a more urgent necessity than their own.

With all this, the Court was timid in venturing too boldly on innovations of too far-reaching a scope, and directed that

the Accounts of each Ship be kept apart, & the produce of their outward bound Cargoes invested, and laden on the Ship such Cargo belongs unto, that the measurage of each Ship be paid out of its Cargo, as also the Custom House charges, but whatever expences you shall be at in Presents to the Government, House expenses, or otherwise, wherein all three or any two Ships Supra Cargoes joyn together, those to be born equally.

This arrangement promised far better results than those which we have observed at Amoy in 1704,[1] when the supercargoes of five English ships were scrambling for a cargo, competing with each other and sending prices up, concealing their transactions, and all working to get the earliest dispatch for their own ships.

With these three ships at Canton in 1716 we have also the first example of a formal convention made with the Hoppo. Mr. Naish, chief supercargo of the *Susanna*, waited on the Hoppo,

when the usual privileges were readily granted, viz.—

1. That we might speak with him at all times, without waiting.
2. That we have a Chop affixed at our Gate for a free Trade, and to forbid insults.

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 132.

3. That we choose our Linguist, Compradore, and such other Servants we think proper, and discharge them at our pleasure.

4. That the Supercargoes and Commander of [*Susanna*] shall not be obliged to stop, in coming from, or going to the Ship, at any the Hoppo's boats; and that the Flag flying, shall be the Signal of their being in the boat.

5. That we have liberty to provide all naval stores, without duty, or any imposition whatever.

6. That we have at our request, the Grand Chop for leaving the Port without delay or embarrassment.

The fourth article was very necessary to prevent petty annoyances, but it implied a considerable degree of trust and honourable understanding. Lockyer in 1704 advised that ships' boats should have lockers fitted to carry silver from the ship to the factory, and gold to the ships, in order that both might escape the attention of the officials; and, on the other hand, in later years it became necessary to provide that the supercargoes' 'escrutoires' should not be subjected to examination.

The *Susanna's* contract for her investment manifested a growing tendency to compound with the Chinese merchants for all irregular and unforeseen exactions, as had been done at Amoy in 1704.[1]

Contracted with Linqua and Anqua for the following Commodities, clear of Hoppo's or other duties to be by him received for the Emperor; to be assisted in all embarrassments that may or shall be occasioned, either by the present, or a new Hoppo, and that we are protected from all insults, demands &c. that may or shall happen to us on account of Ship *Anne's* taking the Amoy Junk; and at all times to assist us against any innovations by the Hoppo, or other Mandarin in this Port; and that to be at their own expence; and the Ship to sail from Wampoo in 110 days from date.

The merchants, we may feel assured, amply covered themselves from any loss under this contract; and the foreign supercargoes escaped the annoyance of the direct incidence of extortionate charges, by the facile expedient of having their amount concealed from their eyes.

Linqua and Anqua now engrossed the trade of the port; but a minor contract for Chinaware—'clear of all duties'—was made with 'Suqua *als.* Cumshaw'.[2] This trade, too, was worth

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 132.

[2] Suqua indicates that he was rising to the dignity of the suffix qua; Cumshaw (Bakhshish) indicates a petty trader, liable to be treated in an offhand way; but Cumshaw *may* be for Kin Shaoyeh = Young Master Kin.

having ; that year there were twenty foreign ships at Whampoa and Macao, of which no less than six were French—for England, France, and Holland had now formed a triple alliance in Europe, and the ocean routes were open to all. This brought grist to the mill of the merchants at Canton—and of the officials.

> The Merchants made general complaints of Mandarin impositions. . . . The Mandarins in and about this place still grow more envious of the Hoppo, as they observe the great profits arising to him from this Port and Macao, by the vast ingress of Shipping, and as he is but a petty Mandarin to many of them (his Commission indeed special from the Emperor) they begin now to link in parties, which may prove very prejudicial to European Traders ; but we hope the good understanding between the Vice-roy and Linqua and Anqua will frustrate their attempts.

The Hoppo was visibly rising in power, but had not yet attained to the position of undisputed autocracy which he occupied in later years.

The *Marlborough* loaded copper, tutenague, sugar, alum, quicksilver, and 'camphire' for Madras ; the *Stringer* galley and the *Susanna* loaded tea, silks, and chinaware for England. The *Stringer* was so filled with tea that she had to ship some 'on board the *Susanna*, as part of the *Stringer's* Stock' ; while the *Susanna* for her own stock carried 1,565 piculs of tea, 230 piculs of tutenague, with sago and chinaware—the former packed inside the latter—the whole of her lading being invoiced at 54,000 taels. Gold was so difficult to obtain that

> many of the Europeans and others turned their money into another channel ; some left their money behind at interest, rather than risk it at Sea, when nothing was to be got ; and others did really carry their Silver out of the Country uninvested.

This was the first instance of a practice which later became more common, of lending money to Chinese merchants at the high rates of interest ruling in China.

For the season 1717 two ships were dispatched from London to Canton, both to load for England direct :

Essex, 300 tons, stock £36,212 ;
Townshend, 370 tons, stock £38,440.

They carried some lead, 18 packages of cloth, and 135 bales of perpetuanoes ; so that probably nine-tenths of the stock was

in silver. The supercargoes were again instructed to act as a united committee while at Canton; and the Court,

> having been informed that Linqua and Anqua aimed at engrossing the whole trade with Europeans at Canton, and thereby to charge their own prices—ordered the Supercargoes to do all in their power to thwart the design, and to that end to buy of others as well as them, but this was to be done with discretion, and without quarrelling with those Merchants.

Each ship was to take in 'Tea as much as the Ship can conveniently stow', and about 50 tons of copper and tutenague. The *Essex* was to buy £22,000 worth of chinaware (about 305,000 pieces), and 20,750 pieces of woven silks; the *Townshend* the same quantity of chinaware and woven silks, and 30 chests of raw silk. Tea was beginning to displace silk as the main staple of the trade; but tea had to be brought from Anhwei, Kiangsi, and Hunan, and was found to require special contracts of long date.

For the season 1718 two ships were dispatched from London to Canton, both to load for England direct:

Carnarvon, 350 tons, stock £30,796;
Hartford, 290 tons, stock £30,482.

They carried the same proportion of silver as the year before, and the instructions to the supercargoes were identical. Only two events of their visit need be noticed.

To the articles of agreement made with the Hoppo on arrival, the supercargoes added:

> We required that the 4 ℔ Cent be taken off, and that every claim or demand the Hoppo hath, be demanded and determined the same time the Measurement of the Ship.

This struck at the root of the Hoppo's methods; and, while accepting the other articles, he rejected that.

In September the supercargoes 'waited on the Hoppo in company with the rest of the European Gentlemen, to complain of the Hardships the Europeans had suffered, and to obtain redress'. All their linguists had deserted them, but the Hoppo sent for Padre Goville to act as interpreter. The specific causes of complaint were that the Customs officers had seized some pieces of cloth which were being taken from one English ship

to another at Whampoa, which they 'considered as a breach on the liberty of the Port'; and that other officers had arrested and maltreated servants of the factory without just reason. To screen his officers, the Hoppo took on himself the responsibility for these acts; but he promised protection for the future, 'and that he would preserve the Ancient Customs of this Port'.

Both ships, after only four months in port, left fully laden, the *Carnarvon's* cargo being invoiced at 95,369 taels; but her supercargoes recorded with pleasure that they had made an early contract for their tea, since 'there are seven Ships freighted at Macao to load Tea for Batavia'.

Because of the *Anne's* doings at Amoy, the Madras Council abstained from sending any ships to China for two years; but on July 29, 1719, they wrote to the Court:

> Last year's trade from Madras to China, so good, have sent two Ships this season. . . . The seizing the Amoy Junk had made the Chineeses treat the English better than ever before, and dispatch them sooner.

For the year 1719 two ships were dispatched from London to Canton, both to load for England:

Sunderland, 350 tons, stock £33,688;
Essex, 300 tons, stock £33,923.

Both ships carried 'some Woollen Goods, Lead, and a quantity of Amber'; again the inference is that nine-tenths of their stock was in silver. The *Sunderland* 'saved her passage' and was dispatched from Canton in good time; but the *Essex* sailing from the Downs on January 18, 1718 (1719), reached Macao on September 9th and Whampoa on September 26, 1719, after a passage of eight months. The supercargoes then decided that 'it would be very dangerous to attempt getting away this Season', and that they 'could not act better for the interest of the Company, than to stay till next Season'. This brought the ship, as had happened in 1704 to the *Kent* and others, into the period of transition from one Hoppo to the next. The supercargoes, having the prospect of a year in port, wished to land such of their cargo only as they had a prospect of selling soon; but the Hoppo insisted on having the duty on the whole cargo.

This demand was debated for more than a month, and finally, on January 5th,

we came to an accommodation, the Hoppo being to abate us Thirty ℔ Cent. Every body here looks upon this to be a great point gained, and especially so, as this Hoppo is one of the worst sort, and has got fifty days to come of his time.

The Court's former instructions, not to contract for tea in advance of its arrival on the market,[1] could not possibly be carried out; and in February, with their departure still nearly nine months ahead, the supercargoes judged it wise to make their contract, partly because the Chinese traders confidently expected a greater number of ships during the coming year, and were inclined to stiffen their prices; but also

what alarms them [the Chinese traders] as much as anything is the news of old Emoy Anqua, who is actually come out of Pekin, as the Emperor's Son's Merchant, with a great Stock to buy up Tea and China Ware.

The *Essex* sailed from Canton on November 3, 1720, having as cargo 2,281 chests, 110 tubs, and 202 bundles of tea, 112 chests and 500 bundles of chinaware, 260 piculs of tutenague, and 33 chests of woven silk. The chest of tea at a somewhat later date, and presumably at that date, contained not less than 250 lb.;[2] and that commodity had evidently advanced at least a step toward the predominant position it was to occupy in the China trade.

The duty on tea in England remained at 5*s.* the lb. The flat rate was recognized to be bad, both for trade and for the revenue, and the Commissioners of Customs were willing that tea should be 'rated'. At a conference held on April 22, 1718, at the Custom House in Fenchurch Street, between them and a committee from the Company, the Commissioners declared that '8*s.* 3*d.* ℔ lb. was the medium price, between the two proposed prices (maximum and minimum) for Tea to be rated at', this average being based on the sales during eleven years. The Company's representatives objected to this as too high, since, to obtain it, the price of Bohea and Green tea would have to be 17*s.* 10*d.* ℔ lb. if 'cast up the old way of computation', and 15*s.* 9*d.* ℔ lb. if 'cast up according to the Algebra way of computation'.

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 136. [2] Cf. *postea*, p. 201.

XVI

THE MERCHANT GILD FOUNDED, 1720

For 1720[1] the Court sent four ships to Canton, the *Essex* being their fifth ship loading there in that one year. The *Carnarvon*, arriving at Whampoa in August, in addition to her four sister ships found there two ships of the Ostend Company, one 'French ship from Lisbon with a Portuguese Commission', and four 'country' ships from India—one from Bombay, one from Madras, and two from Surat and Borneo. The Company did well to concentrate its forces, for in this year it had two enemies to fight, one already known, the other yet to be disclosed.

The insatiate desire of English merchants outside the Company's ring had been checked in 1693 when the Company's charter had been renewed; had found a new outlet when the English Company was formed in 1698; had again been checked on the agreement for a union in 1702; and had apparently been finally disposed of when the United Company carried the union into effect in 1709. The desire was not dead, however, and it soon sprang into fresh life, under the cloak of a foreign flag. An Imperial East India Company was chartered by the Emperor from his (Imperial) Court in Vienna, to trade between his (Austrian Netherlands) port of Ostend to the Indies; and by it ships were sent out—ships owned by English merchants and officered by English sailors, sailing under the Imperial flag. The subterfuge was as obnoxious to the Government as it was to the Company, since the Dirk Hatteraicks of the day could now supplement their tea from the free United Netherlands with tea from the Spanish Netherlands, and the Exchequer suffered to a proportionately greater extent. The Government exerted diplomatic pressure on the Imperial Court to bring it to withdraw the protection of its flag from this pseudo-Austrian trade; and the Company brought its commercial guns to bear.

[1] From this date the ships are no longer separate trading ventures, and their transactions will not be separately recorded. For their names, tonnage, &c., the reader is referred to the Table of Shipping.

The Court, in their instructions to the four ships, continued the system by which the supercargoes of all four should in all matters act conjointly, while separate accounts were to be kept for each ship; but this year they selected two supercargoes to take the chair in rotation, changing each week—Mr. William Fazakerley, chief of the *Carnarvon*, and Mr. Samuel Lock, chief of the *Sarum*. The four ships, 'if dispatcht together, were to keep company so far as to be out of danger of the Pyrates and other Enemyes';[1] after which, if one ship was found to be a faster sailer than the others, the supercargoes were to

hasten away such best sailing Ship before you in hopes she may get to Canton before the Ostenders. On her arrival there, We direct that her Supra Cargoes do secure or contract for all the Tea procurable, even for all three Ships [three to load for England], which you may easily compute, because your orders for Investments are the same; and if there should be yet a surplus, which in the Supra Cargos judgements is fit to be brought to England, Contract for that too, to be laden on the *Bridgewater* [intended for Madras]. We give this order thus large, that the Ostenders may be disappointed of Tea, and if they are we shall esteem it an excellent piece of service done the Company, for which you shall not want our encouragement. . . . Cost what it will we must try to make these Interlopers sick of their voyages for Tea.

The Court went even so far as to countenance bad trading:

We have before in these Instructions prest earnestly and ordered you to bring no Tea if not the best in its kind, and we should be glad if you don't, but if by buying up all the Teas procurable, the Ostenders can be disappointed of getting any, or at least any quantity, we are content to relax those orders, and to allow you to buy up even such as is not so good, but don't take what is really bad.

The Court's measures had no success. The *Carnarvon* was delayed in the English Channel by stress of weather, and arrived at Canton a month after the other three; and in that month all three (including the *Bridgewater*), and the two Ostend Company's ships, had made their contracts for all the tea they required. The *Carvarvon* had great difficulty in making a contract, could only buy at high prices, and found deliveries to be not of the best quality; but she also filled up, and left Canton on January 22, 1720 (1721), with a lading of 2,209 chests and 200 tubs of tea.

[1] Ships in those days went well armed. In 1722 the Company's ship *Walpole*, 490 tons, 150 men, carried 40 great guns, 300 small arms, and 100 swords.

The Ostenders also appear to have tried to monopolize the market. The Chinese merchants informed the supercargoes that

> the Emperor's [Ostend] Ships would shortly be the ruin of the place; that they had no regard to their words; and some of them who came early this year, had contracted for 1,500 Peculs of Tea more than they could carry; in hopes to make a prey of the Ships that followed; and that not succeeding, went away and left it upon the Merchant's hands, to his utter ruin.

This declaration was doubtless designed to give pleasure to the English of the English Company, who must presumably welcome such a report of the evil nature of their competitors; but doubtless also it had a substratum of truth.

The Court had been solicitous lest the two firms of Linqua and Anqua might create, for themselves, a monopoly of the foreign trade of Canton.[1] Linqua died on the day, August 22nd, on which the *Carnarvon's* supercargoes reached Canton; but before the end of the year they learned of a new combination for the control of the foreign trade.

> This Agreement amongst the most considerable Chinese Merchants of the City of Canton for the good and benefit of their Commerce with the Europeans . . . was made after the most Sacred manner, by going before one of their Idols, and there swearing and sacrificing a Cock, and drinking the blood. Made in the 59th year of the Reign of Kong Hy, and the 26th day of the 11th moon, being the 25th December New Stile, 1720.

This, though the supercargoes may not have been aware of it, was simply the common worship which was the nucleus of the gild, in China to this day, as in the medieval gilds of Europe.[2] With this aspect of the new gild the supercargoes were not concerned; but they were apprehensive of the economic results, and at once sent to the Court a copy of the compact, with a translation made by the French priests. The ostensible object of the gild was to check abuses, to foster foreign trade, and to protect foreigners from the malpractices of the unworthy among the merchants of Canton; and all of the thirteen articles of its charter are replete with these laudable aims.

1. Foreign and Chinese are members of one family, and owe all they have to the service of the Emperor.

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 158.

[2] Cf. Morse, *The Gilds of China*, pp. 16, 17; Ashley, *English Economic History*, ii. 74, 140; Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London*, pp. 4, 51–4.

2. The common good cannot come from individual profit, but by agreement among all.

3. Foreign and Chinese must be on an equal footing If the foreigners succeed in selling dear and buying cheap, the Chinese must lose and will be tempted to sell false goods for true. The gild members will therefore meet together with the foreigners and agree upon prices; and any member acting independently will be punished.

4. When merchants come from other places in China to trade with the foreigners, the gild members will confer with them and settle the price, that the seller may receive a reasonable profit; but should it happen that any one for himself should fix a price, or buy clandestinely, he shall be punished.

5. The price being agreed and the quality found good, any attempt to impose false goods on the foreigner will be punished.

6. In order to check unauthorized sales, all deliveries of goods to foreign ships shall be recorded; any evasion or malpractice to be liable to punishment.

7. Small handicrafts, such as fans, lacquered ware, embroideries, paintings, were left free for shopkeepers to deal in.

8. Chinaware requiring technical knowledge, dealings in it were left free to all; but dealers must pay 30 ₱ cent. to the gild, without regard to profit or loss.

9. Net weights of green tea must be correctly declared under penalty.

10. When goods are delivered from foreign ships, and when a contract for a cargo for foreign ships is made, 'they shall be obliged to pay their money beforehand, and then all care shall be taken to complete their investments'; failure to act thus will entail punishment.

11. Should a foreign ship prefer to select one merchant to deal with, he may do one-half of the ship's trade, but the other half is to be divided among the gild members. Any one engrossing the whole trade of a ship shall be punished.

12. Among the gild members some, with great responsibilities and expenses, should have a whole share in the foreign trade; others a half share; others a quarter share.

13. In the first class, with a whole share, are five hongs; in the second class five hongs; in the third class six hongs. New

members may be admitted on paying one thousand taels 'towards defraying the expenses of the gild', and shall then be enrolled in the third class.

The application of these articles was of greater importance than their purport; and that was left for the ships of the next year to deal with.

For the season 1721 four ships were again sent to Canton. The Court went a step farther in strengthening the unity of control by ordering that the twelve supercargoes of the four ships, being ranked in order of precedence, should at Canton 'act as one entire Factory, and as if all four Ships were consigned to every one of them by name; and accordingly keep one general set of Books & Consultations, and as one joint Council transact our affairs'. Mr. Nathaniel Torriano headed the list as Chief of Council, and Mr. John Horsmonden was second. To encourage them in special effort,

The Court, in lieu of commission, gave the Supercargoes the following sums certain, viz. :—To the Chief Supercargo of each Ship £2,250, to the seconds £1,350, and to the third Supercargoes £900 each.[1] The Supercargoes were also permitted to join with the Company in the Stock of these Ships, viz. :—the Chief Supercargo of each Ship £1,000, the second £800, and the third £600 on their own risk, the Court promising that if the profit did not amount to 80 ℔ Cent the Company would pay the difference, the excess of 80 ℔ Cent to remain to the Company. . . . They were also allowed to carry out as separate adventures—the Chiefs £100, the seconds £80, and the third Supercargoe £60 each.

The instructions for meeting competition and forestalling the market in tea, to prevent the Ostenders from getting any, were renewed with even greater insistence—'for cost what it will, we must try to make these Interlopers sick of the voyages'.

The supercargoes were forbidden to 'have any kind of intercourse with the Ostenders'; and country ships trading from India were not to assist, countenance, or have any manner of dealings with them, even if old colleagues were found among them, under penalty of being expelled from Eastern waters.

The stocks of these four ships again consisted of full nine-tenths of silver, the goods laden on all four consisting only of 80 pieces

[1] These sums alone constituted 21 per cent. of the stock of two of the ships, 17 per cent. of that of one, and 10 per cent. of that of one.

of cloth, 1,010 pieces of long ells, and 200 tons of lead. Four if necessary, and in all events three, were to load for England—tea as much as could conveniently be stowed, chinaware about 210,000 pieces for each ship, and sago 'as much as will fill all the hollow China Ware in which it is to be pack't'.

The *Macclesfield* arrived at Whampoa on July 22, 1721, twelve days before the other three.

We find here a Tawjen [1] or Great Mandarin, an immediate Express from the Emperor; whose coming into these parts, was to accompany a Patriarch named Mizabarba,[2] who came last year from Rome, and has been at the Court of Pekin, and returned to Macao in order to proceed to Lisbon.

They were informed that the Hoppo and the Tituck were the real powers behind the new 'Company', and that

the Hoppo has published a Chop forbidding all the inferior class of Merchants, or such as are not of this Company, to deal or trade with any Foreigner; and the Hoppo has undertaken to oblige such of them as shall trade, to pay this new Company 20 ℔ Cent on all China Ware, and 40 ℔ Cent on all Tea they shall so trade for. This extraordinary violence has made all the Merchants who are not of the Company, apply to us (as their only hope) to redress their grievances.

This attitude placed a serviceable weapon in the hands of the supercargoes.

On the 26th the Hoppo sent a message that he wished to measure the ship. The supercargoes returned an answer that they were prepared to conform to all existing laws and ordinances, but that they must

insist on the enjoyment of all the privileges and immunities which his Predecessors had granted to any trading foreigner; and particularly that he would annul the Chop he had issued to restrain people trading with us; and issue another declaring us and all the Natives restored to the full enjoyment of all those Rights and Privileges.

Until that was done they refused to enter into any relations with the authorities of the port.

Two days later the Hoppo's Pay de Casas (steward) brought 'all the Merchants of the place' to entreat them to go to Whampoa and have the ship measured. The supercargoes'

[1] Ta-ch'en = Kinch'ai Tach'en, Imperial High Commissioner.
[2] Cardinal Mezzobarba, Legatus a Latere, arrived in Peking Dec. 15, 1720.

chief weapon was the fact that the Hoppo wished to take the High Commissioner on board in order that he might select some curiosities of European origin as presents to the Emperor, and that he dared not allow the Emperor's direct representative to become cognizant of any check on the free course of the profitable foreign trade ; and they refused to allow the ship to be measured.

The next day two Chinese merchants, Comshew and Cudgin, informed them that

> they could lower their prices of Tea considerably, if we could overcome the Company, which they promised to assist us in. They told us this could not be accomplished, but by an application to the Chuntuck [Viceroy] ; and this must be done by an interview with his Pay de Casas, which they would undertake to let us have this evening.

That evening they saw the Viceroy's agent and represented to him the necessity they would be under of ceasing to trade at Canton unless some means could be found to ' put an end to this Society '.

The supercargoes report that they had several threatening messages from the Hoppo, to which they paid no attention. The next day, July 30th,

> the Chuntuck summoned the heads of the Merchants before him and told them in an angry tone, the evil consequences that must attend the present method they had put the Trade of this place into ; he enjoined them to go and consult together and that if they did not come to a resolution to dissolve their Body, he should find means to compel them.

The Viceroy was too important an official to be trifled with, and

> the Society of Merchants were summoned to consider the Chuntuck's remonstrance, which had greatly terrified them. This, with what Comshew and Cudgin had done by promising some of the Chief of them to take their Tea off their hands, prevailed over the leading part, to burn the Instrument which they had entered into for forming the Society.

All being thus happily settled, the supercargoes on August 1st accompanied the High Commissioner, the Hoppo, and other officials to Whampoa, and the ship was measured. ' The Tawjen was inquisitive about rarities, in which he was very troublesome ' ; and several curious objects were presented to him. The other ships arrived on August 3rd and 5th, and the

trade progressed without a hitch. The *Macclesfield*, with 2,623 chests of tea, and the *Morice*, with 2,313 chests of tea, were dispatched on November 6th; the *Frances*, with 2,587 chests of tea, and the *Cadogan*, with 3,154 chests of tea, on December 17th; all four carried also a quantity of chinaware.

In the month between those two dates of dispatch occurred one of those lamentable cases of homicide, which now and again did so much to disturb the trade of the port and the Company. On November 22nd the supercargoes of the *Cadogan* were informed that

> some of the *Bonitta's*[1] people had shot a Chinaman about Wampo, in the service of the Hoppo, and that Mr. Scattergood had withdrawn himself from his own house to the United English Factory to escape (though entirely innocent) from falling into the hands of these Barbarians, who are glad of the least handle to plague People.

We are not informed to what extent the shooting was an act of rowdiness, or if it was pure accident; nor, beyond the fact that Mr. Scattergood, the *Bonitta's* supercargo, took refuge in the Company's factory, are we informed of any action taken directly against that ship. Five days later the *Cadogan's* supercargoes note that

> although no person at Canton could by any rules of right, reason, or justice, be deemed guilty of so accidental a thing, especially at the distance of this place from Wampoa, which is about 14 or 15 miles, nor ought to be answerable for any, but his own actions, nevertheless, so arbitrary are the Laws, or the abuse of those Laws, in this Country, that our friends the China Merchants have advised us to keep within doors, and not stir out for some days, for fear of being mobbed or taken up by the Mandarins, contrary to all reason and justice.

This state of care and watchfulness continued in all for eighteen days, during which the supercargoes were actively engaged in closing their accounts and completing their lading. On December 10th, as the second mate and four sailors of the *Cadogan* were 'quietly walking the Street near the Factory', they were 'seized and carried away', and soldiers in large numbers were watching near the factory. The supercargoes went to the Hoppo

[1] The '*Bonetta* from Madras' was at Whampoa on Aug. 22, 1720; and this *Bonitta*, there in Nov. 1721, is presumably the same ship.

to complain of the 'violation of the privileges he had granted us for our Persons, Officers, Seamen, &c.' They learned that the arrest had been made 'without the cognizance of Chuntuck, Fuyuen, or Hoppo', and that the soldiers had acted under the authority of 'an Order or Chop from the Tituck, or General of the Soldiers'. They pointed out, as they had done in connexion with the gild, that such arbitrary conduct could end only in the abandonment by the English of all trade at Canton, as they had already abandoned that at Amoy and Chusan; and they went so far as to suggest

urther, His Majesty the King of England has several Men of War about Madras and other places in the East Indies, we cannot answer what may be the consequences of such a procedure, as the denying us that justice which we demand.

The last argument would leave the Chinese officials quite unmoved; but the plain intimation that the trade might leave Canton was one which, as yet, was likely to influence both Viceroy and Hoppo.

Our vigorously resenting this affair has had so good an effect already [two days later] that the Mandarin who committed the affront, has been degraded from his office; which was the command of a thousand men,[1] and we are promised that he shall be bamboo'd, and made incapable of ever being admitted into the Emperor's Service again. We thought it absolutely necessary to carry this point; for as they encroach upon us every year, and render the trade of the place more difficult, we took this occasion in some measure to put a stop to the growing insults, which might otherwise have come to extremities.

In that one year the Company had escaped from two dangers: the one was to recur again and again, and the Company's ships and supercargoes were to be repeatedly held accountable for the offence of one individual; the other was to continue to hang over the Company like a nightmare. On December 24, 1725, in their instructions to the supercargoes then about to proceed to Canton in the ship *Townsend*, the Court wrote:

Some years since the Chineeses attempted a combination at Canton among themselves, and settled a draught to that purpose to joyn together: the meaning of which was to set their own prices on the

[1] Possibly the Hiehtai, commanding the Green Banner troops in the Namhoi-hien.

Goods to be sold Europeans ; and to have their proportions of the real profits on said Goods whoever appeared to be the seller. But the next years Supra Cargos brought us word they could not agree among themselves ; and so it dropt, after said Supra Cargos had complained to the Governor of the Province of this Imposition. We hope they will not make another attempt that way ; but if they have already, or should do, while you are there, you must also strenuously oppose it in the best manner you can : let the Merchants, and, if necessary, the Hoppo and Mandarins, know you are under positive orders not to be ty'd to buy of any particular people.

XVII

THE GOVERNOR-HOPPO, 1724

The Court's instructions for four ships dispatched to Canton for 1722 were addressed to Mr. James Naish and six others collectively, and constituted them a 'standing Council for mannaging our affairs in China, & to act in the same manner as any other Chief & Council at our Settlements abroad'. As had now become customary, they did not receive commission, but were incited to special efforts by having: (*a*) allowances of the result from trading with a portion of the Company's stock; (*b*) permission to carry out a sum in foreign silver and invest it in gold; and (*c*) privilege of separate adventures in goods both ways, all in the following proportions:

	Allowances.	*Permission.*	*Separate Adventures.*
	£	£	£
Mr. Naish . . .	3,000	1,500	200
Mr. Newnam . .	1,800	900	150
Mr. Savage. . .	1,800	900	150
Mr. Pratt . . .	1,200	600	100
Mr. Turner. . .	1,200	600	100
Mr. du Bois . .	1,200	600	100
Mr. Talbot . . .	800	300	100

Their orders against 'Interloping Competitors' were even more stringent than before; and, under the authority of an Act of Parliament recently passed, they were directed to seize the persons of any of 'his Majesty's Subjects found trading or going to the East Indies under foreign Commissions or Colours'.

The four ships sailed from the Downs in company on January 2, 1721 (1722). One of them, the *Walpole*, fifteen days after sailing, when in latitude 41° N. lost her mainmast and her foremast, which went by the board in a gale, and put into Cadiz to refit. She left there on March 25, but had already 'lost her passage', and arrived off Macao only on May 21, 1723.

The other three ships arrived at Whampoa on July 26, 28, and 29, 1722. Mr. Naish and his colleagues were rejoiced to learn from Seuqua alias Cumshaw that

> the Supercargoes of last year's Ships, by his assistance, and with great difficulty, had broken the compact, or intended Company of Merchants.

They found only one Ostender in port, and that a small one; and were informed by the merchants that the Ostenders were not popular. Everything went smoothly, and within ten days a contract was made with Seuqua for full cargoes for all four ships, to be delivered within 110 days, that for the *Walpole* to be cancelled by mutual consent if she did not arrive within 40 days, by September 20th.

For the *Emilia* and the *Lyell*, intended for England, the contract was as follows:

		Tls.
Raw silk, 200 piculs at 150		30,000
Woven silks, 10,500 pieces		53,700
Quicksilver, 200 piculs at 42		8,400
Tea (all head), Congo, 500 piculs at 38		
Bohea, 2,000 ,, ,, 27		
Peckoe, 250 ,, ,, 38		119,750
Bing, 250 ,, ,, 35		
Singloe, 1,500 ,, ,, 19		
Total		211,850

For the *Eyles*, intended for Bombay:

		Tls.
Quicksilver,	100 piculs at 42	4,200
Vermilion,	50 ,, ,, 42	2,100
Tutenague,	1,200 ,, ,, 6	7,200
Sugar,	2,500 ,, ,, 3	7,500
Sugar Candy,	500 ,, ,, 6	3,000
Camphor,	100 ,, ,, 25	2,500
Chinaroot,	250 ,, ,, 2	500
Alum,	1,000 ,, ,, 1·5	1,500
		28,500

For the *Walpole*, intended for Madras:

		Tls.
Alum,	350 piculs at 1·5	525
Tutenague,	2,500 ,, ,, 6	15,000
Sugar,	3,000 ,, ,, 3	9,000
Sugar Candy,	250 ,, ,, 6	1,500
Camphor,	20 ,, ,, 25	500
Chinaroot,	500 ,, ,, 2	1,000
Tea, Bohea,	1,000 ,, ,, 27	27,000
Gold, of 93 Touch, to be paid for in Silver of 94 Touch, 500 Shoes, which suppose at Tls. 9·75 each Shoe, at 100 Tale Sisee, or Tls. 106·37 Dollar Money ℔ 10 Ta. Weight of said Gold, will amount to		51,855
		106,380

The investment for the four ships had an estimated (contract) prime cost of 346,730 taels.

At the same time the stock of the four (or three) ships was sold outright to Seuqua alias Cumshaw at the following rates, Seuqua to pay the Emperor's and Hoppo's duties :

Lead	Tls. 2·40 ℔ picul,	with duty Tls.	2·86
Broad Cloth, coarse . .	,, 0·78 ℔ yard,	,, ,,	1·04
,, fine . .	,, 1·80 ,,	,, ,,	2·06
,, scarlet . .	,, 3·00 ,,	,, ,,	3·26
Long Ells (Perpetts) . .	,, 6·60 ℔ piece,	,, ,,	8·00
Callimancoes . . .	,, 8·00 ,,	,, ,,	9·80

The total amount was not great : 301 pigs of lead (about 40 tons), 35 bales of cloth, 90 bales of long ells, and 13 cases of callimancoes. All the woollens in bales were 'found to be much damaged in being eaten by some insect in a very extraordinary manner' ; and an allowance of 1,963 taels was made to Seuqua, at the rate, per piece, of 5 taels on 17 pieces of fine cloth, 3 taels on 26 pieces of coarse cloth, and 2 taels on 900 pieces of long ells.

The amount of silver landed into the factory from the three ships was as follows :

	Tls.
Eyles :	
7 chests Duccatoons, each net 290 lb. 8 oz. Troy,[1] 96 Touch	20,590·822
28 chests Pillars, ,, ,, ,, ,, 95 ,,	81,505·347
	102,096·169
Lyell :	
5 chests Duccatoons, each net 290 lb. 8 oz. Troy, 96 Touch	14,707·730
30 chests Pillars, ,, ,, ,, ,, 95 ,,	87,927·159
	102,634·889
Emilia :	
5 chests Duccatoons, each net 290 lb. 8 oz. Troy, 96 Touch	14,707·730
25 chests Pillars, ,, ,, ,, ,, 95 ,,	72,772·632
	87,480·362

The factory expenses up to October 12th, the date of dispatching the *Eyles*, were as follows :

	Tls.
Eyles measurement and port charges . . .	3,050
Lyell ,, ,, ,, . . .	2,950
Emilia ,, ,, ,, . . .	2,450
Charges extraordinary to date	529
Account of Presents	472
General charges Merchandize	386
Factory expenses	2,086
	11,923

[1] 121·24 oz. = 100 taels weight ; current silver 94 touch.

After that date Tls. 2,500 were 'delivered to Mr. Talbot for Factory Expenses' and for rent; and this account does not include any disbursements for the ships at Whampoa.

The *Eyles* sailed for Madras on October 11, 1722; and in the letter left for the *Walpole*, the supercargoes wrote complacently:

By our Contract with Seuqua, we have given the Mandarines sufficient reason to dread the consequences of their engrossing Teas, or any other articles for Europeans:—In fine we have succeeded in all we could expect.

They had indeed encountered one difficulty:

The Mandarines trading in Teas has been an incredible disadvantage to Europeans; for each countenancing and protecting some one Merchant or Merchants, who therefore were obliged to take large quantities of Teas to dispose of, upon such terms, and at such prices, as he should please to impose . . . the ships competing with each other, and as they severally arrived, so the price of Tea was risen in progressive numbers, till the difference between the first and last Ship often exceeded Fifty ℔ Cent.

This spasmodic revival of the 'Great Mandarins Merchants' of twenty years earlier failed in its result. Of ships loading for Europe there were, in 1722, only one Ostender, of no great size, one French ship, and the Company's two ships; the others, two country ships under the British flag and one 'under Armenian colours',[1] loading for India, took little or no tea. The action of Mr. Naish and his colleagues, in buying collectively for all three of his ships, and in contracting with Seuqua alone, entirely defeated the speculative enterprise of the Mandarins, and made them a very irritated body of officials.

On top of this occurred another lamentable accident. On October 30th the gunner's mate of the *King George*, a country ship from Bombay, coming up in the longboat to Canton, fired at a bird in a paddy field, in which a boy was reaping,

who unfortunately received a mortal wound from slugs in the piece he fired. It being really an accident, we hope y^e^ Gentlemen Supra Cargoes will not meet with great difficulty in making it up with the Parents

[1] The Armenian merchants were very influential in Indian ports, and in 1688 they received at Calcutta a charter from the East India Company granting them 'all the privileges of European merchants'. A ship 'under Armenian colours' was presumably one flying the house flag of an Armenian merchant.

as well as Mandarines, who too often vilely encrease their personal estates, by such misfortunes, but all in our power shall not be wanting to prevent such practices.

The affair did not lead to criminal procedure, but it was made the pretext for extorting money.

Nov. 15. The China boy killed by Gunner's Mate of *King George*, hath not only given Messrs. Scattergood & Hill great trouble, but hath cost them already near 2,000 Tales, whereof the Parents had 350, & though the Gunner's Mate is cleared in form, yet they now meet with great difficulty, For y^e^ Tituck upon some pretence that y^e^ Toygen & Ninneham [1] have concerted this business in prejudice to the Honnour of the Emperour, threatens advising him thereof, so that the Hoppo will not deliver them their Grand Chop, Notwithstanding they have paid all y^e^ duties.

On November 23rd the Tituck stopped the *Bonita*, Mr. Hill's ship, sister-ship to the *King George*, and prevented her from passing out from Boca Tigris. Thereupon Mr. Naish intervened and, 'using his interest with the principal Merchants', obtained from the Viceroy an order that both ships should obtain their clearance without further delay.

The *Walpole* arriving off Macao on May 21, 1723, her supercargoes made the usual convention with the Hoppo. The final clause of their demand was that

The Duty of 6 ℘ Cent be taken off, we being very well assured 'tis not in the Book of rates, but an Imposition of former Hoppos.

Mr. Naish had contracted with Seuqua on the basis of having all duties paid by the Chinese merchants; and the last previous mention of any 'duty' in the nature of an imposition is at 4 ℘ cent.; but, whether 4 or 6, the Hoppo granted all the demands

excepting the Article of 6 ℘ Cent which he said was of a long standing, & he would not hear anything of it.

As the result of their inquiries they learned that

almost all the Merchants are broke, not above two or three to be depended upon for a Contract;

[1] Ninneham should probably be Munshang = Gate-Keeper, an important adjunct of a yamen; but Toygen cannot be identified, except, possibly, as the Munshang's master. It might be for Namhoi Hien, the District Magistrate, but the incident did not occur in his district.

and some of the merchants were away, prospecting elsewhere. Before the *Walpole* left

> Suqua, Cowlo, & severall of the Merchants arrived here from Amoy. We went and wellcom'd them on their arrival, according to Custome, they tell us, i.e. Suqua & Cowlo, that they have built large Hongs at Amoy, in order to live there, for that they can't bear the Impositions of the Mandarines here any longer, and wish the English would go there, they say that not only the Merchants but all the Mandarines are very desirous of it, & asur'd them we shou'd be very well treated.

In later years Amoy again invited traders to frequent the port, when the impositions at Canton became too obvious and too burdensome; but for the present affairs ran smoothly for the English—in so far as they were allowed to see.

The supercargoes contracted with Quiqua for 1,000 piculs of tea, and with Tonqua (Seuqua's partner) for an additional 500 piculs of tea and all the rest of their investment. Their whole investment was as follows:

		Tls.
Tea, Bohea,	1,500 piculs at 23	34,500
Quicksilver,	152 ,, ,, 42	6,384
Vermilion,	150 ,, ,, 42	6,300
Tutenague,	2,000 ,, ,, 6	12,000
Sugar,	1,500 ,, ,, 2·80	4,200
Sugar Candy,	1,500 ,, ,, 5·80	8,700
Chinaroot,	500 ,, ,, 2	1,000
Alum,	300 ,, ,, 1·40	420
Raw silk,	60 ,, ,, 142	8,520
Woven silks,	2,850 pieces	17,552
Gold, 30 shoes of 10 taels weight at 100 taels of dollar silver per shoe.		3,000
		102,576

This ship of 490 tons was laden with 360 tons of dead-weight cargo, and about 750 chests of tea weighing gross another 100 tons.

For the season 1723 four ships were sent to Canton, with a Council of seven supercargoes, Mr. William Fazakerley being chief. They were given allowances with a total of £10,700, permission for a total of £5,400 and separate adventures £1,060. The stock by the four ships amounted to £129,974, not less than nine-tenths being in silver. The ships arrived at Whampoa, two on July 15th, two on August 10th. Two Ostenders were in port, with English captains and supercargoes, and a stock of

'near £100,000', their arrival, i. e. the assured competition, having raised prices.

The supercargoes obtained the usual freedom of trade, and rights of the flag, but they made no demand for abolition of the '4 ℘ Cent, or the 6 ℘ Cent duty'. They too learned that 'many of the merchants were broke'; and lost no time in making a contract with Cumshaw (Seuqua) to buy all their cloth, perpetuanoes, and lead at prime cost; and to sell them:

		Tls.
Tea,	6,900 piculs at 16 @ 45	182,500
Raw Silk,	100 ,, ,, 145	14,500
Woven silk,	5,300 pieces	16,000
Quicksilver,	400 piculs at 42	16,800
Vermilion,	100 ,, ,, 42	4,200
Sugar,	4,000 ,, ,, 2·90	11,600
Sugar Candy,	1,800 ,, ,, 5·90	10,620
China root	400 ,, ,, 1·80	720
Alum,	1,500 ,, ,, 1·60	2,400
Tutenague,	2,000 ,, ,, 6	12,000
		271,340

and 'to get for us 100 or 200 shoes of Gold, in case we should want them'. Later on it was decided to change the destination of the *Mountague*, and to send her to England instead of Madras; some quantities of the gruff goods were then struck out, and in place of them were taken 200 piculs of raw silk and 1,700 piculs additional of tea. In addition the three ships for England took 458 chests of chinaware.

The two Ostenders took away for Europe:
Tea, chiefly Bohea (27 taels a picul), about 5,100 piculs;
Quicksilver, between 400 and 500 piculs;
Wrought silks, about 34,000 pieces;
Raw silk, 30 odd piculs;
'besides Chinaware for their Kintlege'.

The military had begun to make trouble, and to send frequently to inspect the ships for ammunition, to stop boats passing, to refuse to recognize the immunity given by the flag on boats, to inspect goods on various pretexts after they had been passed by the customs officers, to demand the opening of packages already in the holds—all with the obvious intention of extorting gratuities. On August 28th the supercargoes of all the ships in port—five Company's ships (including the *Walpole*), two country

ships, one Armenian, and two Ostenders—met in conference and drew up identical petitions to the Viceroy and the Governor, desiring them to 'redress these Grievances, as well as confirm to us all the Privileges we have had heretofore'. In the petition they also complained that the Hoppo was restricting their established privileges.

This application had the effect desired. The Management of the Affair was committed to the principal Merchant Suqua; and we promised to reimburse him the Charges in Presents and Money of conducting it to a satisfactory conclusion: these amounted to 725 Tael.

Otherwise the Council this year seems to have had no serious trouble. The *Cambridge* sailed on November 26, 1723, for Bombay; the *Mountague*, *Hartford*, and *Princess Ann* for England on January 21, 1723 (1724).

For the season 1724, owing to the fear that the death of the Emperor Kanghi might create a disturbed state in China, only one ship was sent to Canton—the *Macclesfield*, 450 tons. The Council consisted of three members—two supercargoes, Mr. George Morton Pitt and Mr. Richard Nicholson, and the commander of the ship, Captain Robert Hudson. In lieu of commission they were to receive allowances of £3,000—to Mr. Pitt £1,500, to Mr. Nicholson £1,000, and to Captain Hudson £500—and as separate adventures, to Mr. Pitt £150, to Mr. Nicholson £100; Mr. Pitt had permission to take £10,000, and Mr. Nicholson £2,000, in foreign silver, to be invested in gold in China. Private trade in tea was prohibited to all on board. The instructions for the investment from Canton are of particular interest, inasmuch as they provide for a combined measurement and dead-weight lading of 450 tons on a ship of 450 tons burthen. The ship was to load in part for London, in part for Madras; and the following is the 'Abstract Estimate' for her cargo:

	Piculs.	Tons.	Tls.
For Europe:			
Raw silk, at 150 taels	150	20	22,500
Wrought silks, 10,000 pieces	—	20	55,840
Tea, at average cost of 25 taels	1,000	125	25,000
Quicksilver, at 42 taels	200	12	8,400
Chinaware, about 150 chests or as many as will floor the Ship fore and aft	—	38	4,600
Tutenague, at 6 taels	340	20	2,040
		235	118,380

For Fort St. George :	Tons.	Tls.
Tutenague, copper, sugar, sugar-candy, Alum, China-root according to supercargoes' judgement—tea and camphor only excepted	180	25,620
For charges in China	—	6,000
Ship's Iron Kintlage	35	—
	450	150,000

The *Macclesfield* arrived at Macao on July 21, 1724, and the supercargoes were cheered by a piece of good news—that no other ship had yet arrived from Europe; but this was overshadowed by bad news. For the first time in the history of foreign trade, the offices of Phuen (Fuyuen, Governor of the province of Kwangtung) and Hoppo were held by one person; and on going to Canton they 'found the Merchants very much dejected from the ill situation of affairs'.

The Emperor Yungcheng's persecution of the Roman Catholic Church had also begun, and they found the missionaries temporarily allowed to remain in the city of Canton, but under orders to vacate their stations in all other parts of the Empire. This was a blow, especially to the French trade, but to the English as well; the records contain frequent instances of friendly help, advice, and information, given freely and willingly to all foreign traders; and, in recognition of this, priests had on several occasions been granted a free passage to Europe on the Company's ships. The 'Jesuits in China' also provided for an uncertain future by depositing with the Company in London, through Padre de Goville, who had so returned, a sum of 10,000 pagodas, against which the Company was to pay 600 pagodas a year to the missionaries in Canton.

In response to the usual demand for the usual privileges, the Governor-Hoppo was disagreeably vague; and the supercargoes could not induce their linguist to be outspoken 'from the dread he had on him of ill usuage for his freedome'. He was dilatory also in going to measure the ship, refusing to go until another ship should arrive; but he was prompt in 'insisting on being allowed 250 Tale for the Linguist & 120 for the Compradore,[1] both which demands they positively refused to comply

[1] On the China coast comprador has two meanings: (*a*) chief cashier and broker of a foreign firm; (*b*) ship-chandler or purveyor of supplies. During the period covered by this work, the word is used generally in the second meaning.

with '. The supercargoes did not, however, wait as was customary for the ship to be measured ; and ' finding all the Merchants except Suqua much indebted to certain Armenians, and otherwise not to be depended on for a contract ', they contracted with him on July 30th for their silk, raw and wrought, and tea, and on August 7th for most of their gruff goods. To him also they sold their woollens.

The goods contracted for as investment were :

	Tls.
Raw silk, 150 piculs at 155	23,250
Wrought silks, 9,420 pieces	54,170
Tea, 1,000 piculs at 18 @ 50	24,255
Sugar, 1,000 ,, ,, 3	3,000
Sugar Candy, 250 ,, ,, 5·80	1,450
Alum, 500 ,, ,, 2	1,000
Chinaroot, as much as required at 1·80	..
Tutenague, 1,340 piculs at 6·60	8,844
Quicksilver, 200 ,, ,, 45	9,000
Sago, as required for packing Chinaware, at 3·80	..
Chinaware, quantity not stated	..
	124,969

Suqua was to pay all customs duties. In addition, gold was bought under the permission given to the supercargoes :

Mr. Pitt, value 32,783 Pagodas = £14,752
Mr. Nicholson, ,, 6,483 ,, = £2,916

The raw silk contracted for could not be delivered, and the order was left in being, the silk to be delivered ' next year '.

After the *Macclesfield's* contract was settled, ships began to come into port. Between July 31st and October 14th arrived at Whampoa 1 French ship, 2 Ostenders (the chief supercargo an Englishman), and 5 country ships from India. One of the last had fallen to leeward in making for Canton in the early summer, and under the sailing conditions of those days had gone before the monsoon to Amoy ; her supercargo reported that, at Amoy,

he was received in an extraordinary manner by the Tytuck, who offered if he would stay and do his business there, he would excuse him half the Port Charges, & grant him any liberty he could desire.

Mr. Pitt considered that

it is a little unfortunate that he was obliged to come to Canton, since it confirms the Mandarins in the opinion, that the Europeans are not able to carry on their Trade at any other place in China but this.

The French ship was the *St. Joseph*, 500 tons, from Pondicherry. She had, as supercargo, one of the Council of that French colony,

for carrying into effect their new scheme of Trade, which was to send no more Ships direct from France to Canton, but from Pondicherry, from whence the China Cargoes were to be laden home in January.

The French had established a resident factor in Canton as early as 1698,[1] seventy years before the English Company adopted the same policy; but now, in 1724, they abandoned the practice. On his arrival the French supercargo presented to the Governor-Hoppo a memorandum, in writing, of the existing rights and privileges, and demanded a confirmation,

which much disgusted the Phuen, who was resolv'd upon making the most of his post.

A month later, on September 3rd, in a scuffle resulting from an attempt to search the captain's pinnace, the captain drew his sword on the Hoppo's officer.

This gave the Officer a pretence of complaint to the Phuen, who thereupon ordered the Captain and Younqua (a Merchant at whose house the French lived) to be put in chains—the Captain would not submit, but Younqua was carried away, and obliged to pay a round sum for his discharge: the Frenchman likewise was forced to pay his submission in a very humble manner, to get clear of the threatened disgrace. This was part of the ill humour that was bred from the Paper they delivered at their arrival.

The exactions on the trade seemed to have increased during the *Macclesfield's* stay. The 250 taels demanded from the linguist, and the 150 from the comprador, could not be evaded. For the ship's measurage 3,250 taels were demanded; and, though this was reduced to 2,962 taels, no further abatement could be secured. With the merchants there was no trouble, though it loomed in the background.

There was not this year any Combination among the Merchants; but, what was still more prejudicial, Bouqua, the Phuen's Merchant, offered his master 24,000 Tale for a monopoly of the English Trade for that year only. The threats and representations of the Supercargoes had not the least effect, nor dared any of the Merchants to resist this violence, except Suqua, who managed the affair so successfully, that not only Bouqua, but also the principal Pay de Casa (who was an adviser in this scheme) were disgraced.

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 91, n. 2.

The situation was ominous for the future. The Hoppo at this time had sufficient powers for his purpose, but, alongside the Viceroy and Governor, his post did not carry with it a great degree of official prestige; his position may in some respects be likened to that of the publicans under the Roman Empire. When the Governor of the province assumed the duties and the perquisites of Hoppo, his position was more that of a Proconsul, since to the Hoppo's power of the purse he added the prestige of his office of Governor. Under the Empire the Viceroy did not override the actions of the Governor: they were colleagues, acting, memorializing, and judging conjointly. Only a year before[1] these two colleagues had conjointly protected the foreign traders from the newly imposed exactions of the military. In later years the Hoppo, from the great increase in the foreign trade, acquired a greater power of the purse, and consequently increased backing at Court, and then it was found that neither Viceroy nor Governor was able, or willing, to impose any effective restraint on him. This was the omen foreshadowed by the situation in 1724.

For the season 1725 the Court sent to Canton one ship by way of Banjarmassin, to load for Mocha; and two ships direct from London, to load for England. For 1726 one ship was sent from London to Canton to load for England. In the case of the three ships for England, investments were ordered of an estimated tonnage equal to the tons burthen of the ships, as was done for the *Macclesfield* in 1724.

[1] Cf. *antea*, pp. 167, 177.

XVIII

THE TEN PER CENT., 1728

For the season 1727 the United Company sent one ship, the *Prince Augustus*, to China, with Mr. Nathanael Torriano as chief supercargo. On arrival at Batavia he found that one important link was broken in the chain by which the Council for China was worked; neither there, nor later at Macao, did he find any letter from the Council of 1726, giving an account of their experiences and a statement of market prices. Even so early it seemed that the French Company adopted a wiser course in leaving its factors at Macao between seasons.

In his 'Secret Orders' Mr. Torriano was instructed, in consequence of the obstacles encountered and extortion practised at Canton, that he should this year trade at Amoy. If he acted on this, he was confronted by the difficulty that 'the Silk Weavers are most of them gone from thence to Canton, since the English left going to Amoy'; and that such woven silks as he wanted must be ordered in Canton and sent thence to the ship at Amoy. He accordingly wrote from Batavia to Suqua at Canton, telling him of the intention, and urging him to go to Amoy in order that he might there do the trade of the ship.

The ship remained in 'Typa Quebrada Harbour, which is a safe place for the Ship to ride in near Macao, and yet out of the Power of the Portuguese or Chinese', while the supercargoes went to Canton. Suqua resisted all Mr. Torriano's persuasions to go to Amoy, either overland or in the *Prince Augustus*, and refused also to contract for silks to be sent to Amoy; so too did Ton Hungqua, 'whom we esteem to be the best man upon the place next to Suqua'; so too all the other merchants who were approached, including 'Mandareen Quiqua', whom Mr. Torriano fully expected to be able to persuade, 'for he came the last from that place'; and the supercargoes were told plainly that they 'should not prevail with any of the Merchants here to go with us, as long as they were delivered from the Persecutions of the last Foyen-Hoppo'.

The situation at Canton was, for the moment, changed for the better. The Governor-Hoppo who had played the tyrant during the past two seasons was now absent, having 'gone a great way in the Country to bury his Father, and from thence was to go to Pekin to waite on the Emperor'; and his temporary successor as acting Governor, also acting temporarily as Hoppo, 'is a Person of a quite different Disposition towards Foreigners than the other, and is of as courteous a Deportment as the former was of a rough one'. On each of five successive days the Governor-Hoppo caused an intimation to be given to the supercargoes that he expected them to come to pay their respects; repeatedly they returned answer that they were for Amoy, and did not intend to trouble His Excellency; but finally, on the seventh day after their arrival, they went to see him, and were received 'with great Civillity'. After arguing for a time in favour of Amoy, they finally presented the usual articles of privileges, among which one is new:

> That there be no punch or samshoo [spirits] houses built at Whampoa, in order to prevent Quarrels between the Sailors & Chinese; and that we may not at this distance be answerable for their Actions, or any Accidents that may happen if they should.

To all their demands the Governor-Hoppo promptly acceded, and, on June 22nd, orders were sent for the ship to come up to Whampoa.

None of the merchants would do any business until Suqua had opened the way. He was very stiff in his prices; but, fearing that the arrival of two Ostenders which were expected would send prices still higher, a contract was made with him on June 27th for tea and silks, to be delivered in 120 days, 'free and clear of Hoppo's Duties, & all other Charges whatsoever'. Similar contracts for tea and silks were then made with Ton Hungqua, Mandarin Quiqua, Tinqua, Pinkey, and Sinqua. To each, as part of the bargain, was also sold a quantity of woollens proportioned to their contracts, but at uniform prices, 'for which woollen Goods he is to repay us the Duties that we shall pay to the Hoppo for Custom, & we to be at no other Charges thereon but the bringing up to our Factory'. By this time the supercargoes had come to the conclusion that

the Chinese merchants were better qualified than themselves to deal with the Chinese officials.

The supercargoes next busied themselves with buying and packing the chinaware, with which the ship's hold was to be floored, and from time to time they bought—the seller to pay all duties and charges—parcels of tutenague for kentlage, and sago to pack inside the hollow chinaware.

For this ship we have the first explicit mention of 'the 1,950 Tales', which was to be so prominent a feature in the negotiations and discussions for a century to come:

> We likewise this day paid the Linguist upon Ton Hunqua's Security T. 1,950, being for the Presents to the Toyen, Juntuck & other Great Mandarines for our Ship's Present; which are now by Custom looked upon to be as much their due as the Measurage.

This was in addition to the statutory measurage, 1,320 taels, which had been paid previously.

On August 24th, to the expressed regret of the merchants, the acting Governor-Hoppo left Canton on promotion to be titular Governor of Fukien, and his dual position was, pending the return of the titular Governor of Kwangtung, temporarily filled by the Viceroy of the Two Kwang, who thus became Viceroy-Governor-Hoppo.

Tea was now packed in chests of more moderate size, containing from 74 lb. to 78 lb. net. With one lot the supercargoes had a difficulty, as it had been

> bought of Whanchinsoo, who had not the priviledge of shipping off any himself; but as the Tea was extraordinary good & cheaper than what we could buy of the Merchants, we bought it with a Resolution to pay the Duties ourselves, which we insisted on the freedom of doing, as a consequence of the liberty granted us by the Foyen, of buying any Goods of whom we pleased.

The customs officers wished to enforce shipment by one of the recognized merchants, but the supercargoes threatened to make a personal appeal to the Viceroy, and the tea was allowed to pass, the supercargoes paying the duty; and thus they broke through the circle of an informal, unincorporated, gild.

For the season 1728 the United Company sent four ships to China, with orders to proceed in the first instance to Canton. Mr. Peter Godfrey was chief of the Council, numbering six

supercargoes in all. The stock consisted, as usual, of at least nine-tenths silver; and the supercargoes were now, for the first time on the record, confronted by a danger from the ingenuity of Chinese craft and craftsmanship.

Jan. 1, 1728 (1729). We have had a considerable quantity of Copper Dollars brought us by our Merch^ts which they affirm'd were taken from the Chests they had received of us; we would by no means allow it, but think it very proper to insert this, that care may be taken to prevent it for the future.

It had been the practice for some time past to make payments on account, under large contracts, in units of the chest, containing each 4,000 dollars. This had been convenient; but, for the future, 'shroffing' was evidently necessary, as soon as the Company's seals should be broken; and in 1729, as will be seen,[1] the seals were usually broken on board, before the silver was sent to the factory.

Mr. Godfrey with one ship, the *Caesar*, arrived off Macao on June 15, 1728. Of the others, the *Macclesfield* arrived on June 24th; the *Harrison* on August 14th; and the *Sunderland* was on September 9th reported to be aground on Samchao Island, dismasted, and in need of refitting and help, and she arrived at Whampoa only on October 26th, three months and eleven days after the arrival of the *Caesar*, and only one month and sixteen days before her departure.

At Macao on June 15th Mr. Godfrey was informed that several of the Canton merchants

were gone to Chinchu (Chüanchow), some of them with a design never to return by reason of the Hardships the Fooyen imposed on them; that the Present Fooyen was the same that was at Canton when we were there 3 year ago, that so unreasonably Mulcted our Merchants and threatened them with Chains and imprisonments, that they then told us had he not been obliged to quit his Post on the Death of his Father they could not have complyed with their Contracts but must have shut up their Hongs.

It was thereupon decided that the *Caesar* should remain outside the Boca Tigris, until the supercargoes could make terms with the Governor-Hoppo; and, following the precedent of the French in 1724, they waited on him in person, before seeing any

[1] Cf. *postea*, pp. 187, 192, 194.

of the merchants and before settling into a factory, and presented to him a written statement of their demands for privilege :

> By this Method we cannot be so lyable to be imposed upon as by conversing with him by a Linguist, They standing in such Awe of these great Mandareens they dare not tell them our true Sentiments, for fear it should be thought they instruct us, and for the same Reasons we do not think it Proper to go near any of the Merchants, till we have first seen him, least we should bring them into trouble on our Acco^{t}, and in the end be certain of Paying dearly for it.

The privileges demanded were the same as the year before, and on June 22nd,

> the Fooyen sent us his Chop, which Suqua says is very handsome and contains all,

except two provisions of minor importance. Hoping for such a result, the supercargoes had already settled into the ' French Factory ', for which they paid Honqua, as rental for the season, a sum which had now become customary—400 taels ; and they also rented part of an adjoining hong for 370 taels.

After having bought a considerable quantity of tea at 16 taels a picul, from an outside merchant, ' he to find Chests & Lead and to pay all Dutys & Charges on board ', the supercargoes were

> fully persuaded we shall never be able to bring any of the Great Merchants to his Price, and we are afraid they are in a Combination together, they all insisting on the same terms, which at present is 24 taels, and we to pay for Chests and Lead.

As the only way to break this combination, orders were sent to meet the *Harrison* and the *Sunderland* at Macao, directing them to remain outside the river. After digesting the news of this action for five days, the great merchants met the outside merchant's price half-way, they finding chests and lead, and paying all charges. Contracts were then also made for raw silk, woven silks, chinaware, &c.

During the whole of July the supercargoes and the people on the ships were subjected to many minor breaches of their privileges, and to many small annoyances ; and the Chinese merchants were also subjected to new impositions, so much so that they asked the supercargoes to co-operate with them in concealing the amount of silver brought for investment,

which, under the Chop, should be free of duty. Accordingly the next order sent to the ship, on July 27th, was as follows :

It being Necessary that we conceal the Importation of Part of the Hon^ble^ Comp^a^ Treasure, we therefore desire and order you to send up to the Factory five Chests of said Treasure in your own Boat, three of which Chests please to open and send the Baggs up in Cloths Chests, Wine Chests, or Something of that Nature as you shall Judge proper, and let some carefull trusty Officer be appointed to come up with it.

Relief was near at hand. The day following this order it was reported that the Governor-Hoppo was seriously ill, and the next day that he was dead.

The death of the Fooyen has put new life into most of the Merchants, who now speak freely their Sentiments, and almost to a Man agree that a greater Tyrant never lived. His Chop [seal of office] is sent to the T'sunto [Tsungtu, Viceroy] who is to officiate as Fooyen till the Emperor's pleasure is known ; this T'sunto is the same was here when we were last at this place, and He twice that Voyage officiated as Fooyen, and was a quiet good Mandareen.

His excellent qualities did not, however, interfere with a proper enjoyment of his opportunities.

The Viceroy came down from Shiuhing on August 6th, and the first step of the supercargoes was to obtain from him a confirmation of their privileges ; and his Chop [proclamation] was issued on the 18th, granting the confirmation, but containing some ominous clauses. The freedom to trade with all merchants was especially restricted, and the merchants were to have

Liberty to choose the Chiefs of Hongs, who are Men of Worth, and whom they can trust, that Poor Merchants may no more deceive Foreigners and ruin their Commerce.

The proclamation ended with the warning :

In short, you Foreigners, attend to the Choice you make of Merchants, do not give ear indifferently to all sorts of People for fear of falling into the Hands of Vilains, that afterwards you have cause to repent in suffering by them.

Immediately on assuming his triple duties the Viceroy had appointed a Chungya [1] to the head of the Customs, ' a young

[1] Ch'ung, acting as substitute for ; .yeh, title of respect.

Man about 28 years of age and has a very good Character'. On the 12th the supercargoes were informed that

Suqua and Cudgin have offered the Chungya 10 ℔ Ct. or upwards to do the Business of the *Sunderland* and *Harrison*, and he has severall times sent for Honqua and Tinqua, and wants them likewise to pay the same for the *Macclesfield* and *Caesar*, but his efforts with them has hitherto been in vain.

The *Harrison* arrived at Whampoa on August 14th, but there was still no news of the *Sunderland*. The supercargoes delayed the measuring of the *Harrison* until outstanding questions should be settled; chief among these were two closely related. They had bought chinaware from outside merchants, and the customs officers required that it should be shipped in the name of one of the recognized merchants, while the supercargoes insisted on the right of shipping it in their own name; and there was the question of 'the 10 ℔ Cent'.

We have taken note of 'the 3 ℔ Cent', subsequently 'the 4 ℔ Cent', supplementary to the tariff duty, payment of which was protested against; and of its increase to '6 ℔ Cent', which was also protested against; but no remission had been obtained. Now a claim was made for an additional '10 ℔ Cent' on the value of the goods imported or exported. On August 13th

Honqua came and acquainted us, he had this afternoon been summoned before the T'sunto, That Mandareen having been informed by the Chungya that 10 ℔ Ct. over and above the 6 ℔ Ct. has been Customary to be paid by Europeans upon their whole Stock (and 'tis certain it was paid to the Fooyen 2 years ago). He therefore insists upon it as a right due to the Emperor, and if once he could be assured it has been of any standing he would establish it as a law for the future, and as it would all be paid into the Emperor's Treasury, it would be in vain ever to attempt the getting it off.

Honqua had evaded the Viceroy's questions, but was told plainly that he 'must be accountable for the 10 ℔ Ct.' for the first two ships. He and the other merchants were in a state of fear, and very anxious to conceal from the officials the extent of their dealings with the supercargoes; and with reason, for, on August 24th,

Our not Measuring the *Harrison* made [the Viceroy] send this morning for all the Merchants and told them they were the occasion of it, and threatened them at the time if it was not done in three days he would Bamboo them all.

Their merchants being thus coerced, the supercargoes were fain to allow the ship to be measured.

The Chungya having tried by a subterfuge to get them to ship their chinaware in the name of a Hong merchant, the supercargoes resolved to ship nothing, but to insist on seeing the Viceroy in person.

> Our Disputes ran very high, and we had all the Merchants of the Place, came very much frightened and beg'd us to ship, if never so small a quantity, but we refused, telling them we could first see the T'sunto.

They thereupon drew up a memorial to the Viceroy, and had it translated into Chinese by a French padre; and for sixteen days tried in vain for an opportunity to present it. Then they took a bold decision, and, on September 16th, eleven supercargoes, from the three Company's ships, a French ship, and two country ships of Bombay and Madras, went in a body to the city gate, without any of the linguists, and without the knowledge of the merchants. At the gate they were stopped; but eleven men of resolve, with swords at their sides, brushed past the single sentry (who was the next day severely bambooed for failing in his duty), and made their way on foot to the Viceroy's Canton yamen, on the site now occupied by the Roman Catholic cathedral. They made their way to the inner courtyard without opposition, and waited quietly until the Viceroy should consent to see them. The Viceroy finished the business he was engaged on, and then had his breakfast,

> soon after we saw the Chungya and all the Linguists come in, all of them much frightened. The Chungya asked us what we wanted there, we gave him for Answer, we were come to speak to the T'sunto, and were determined to see him before we went. He then went in to the T'sunto. . . . About a hour & half after, we were sent for in, together with the Chungya and our Linguist, and after a few Compliments, Mr. Godfrey having the Paper that we drew up the 1st Inst. delivered the same to our Linguist, and he gave it to the Chungya, who delivered it to the T'sunto. He read it over, and by our Linguist told us, we should deal with responsible Merchants, and they pay the Customs, that we might not be imposed on by any little mean People.

Mr. Godfrey pleaded for freedom of trade, liberty to deal with all merchants without distinction, and the right to make their own shipments.

He then dismist us without giving us any further answer, but before we went out of his Presence, we deliver'd him a Copy of the Letter we wrote him on his first coming down ; and we now remain in hopes he will read it over again more considerately at his Leasure, and will in a short time issue out another Chop in our Favour, this being the last Effort in our Power to make ; in the meantime we determine to load or unload nothing till we see how this Affair will terminate.

That same evening the linguist, who 'seemed much troubled', informed them that the Viceroy wished to know who it was that had translated their letter into Chinese; but he received no satisfaction.

Three days later the Viceroy summoned the merchants and linguists to appear before him, to give him an account of their dealings with the supercargoes, 'and to what amount, to which they all gave but imperfect answers'. On September 24th Honqua was arrested, put in chains, and kept a prisoner in his house, by order of the Viceroy ; another reason was alleged, but 'the true Reason was for his bravely refusing to pay the 10 ℘ Ct.' All the other merchants went bail for him, and he was released. On October 4th the supercargoes note :

Chequa pretending the Mandareens have lay'd 10 ℘ Ct., or something like it, on all Goods exported by Europe Ships, refuses to comply with his Contract. We know not how this 10 ℘ Ct. Affair will terminate, but we must submit to fate, being obliged to clear our Factory for the Tea.

Accordingly on that day they shipped off 150 chests of chinaware for the *Macclesfield* and 100 chests for the *Caesar*, and they ordered up the lead from the *Harrison*—and so accepted defeat on the question of shipments.

On the question of the 10 ℘ Cent., which was one that directly concerned the Chinese merchants, they stood firm :

The Merchants were sent for to the Chungya's and T'sunto's about the old Affair. They tell us they must make large Presents to the T'sunto, for they have resolutely told his Pay de Casa and likewise the Chungya, that they neither can nor will pay the 10 ℘ Cent, let the consequence be what it will, nay they even went so far as to say, if he would cut their Heads off for refusing they could not do it.

Four days later, on October 13th, the newly appointed acting Governor, 'unexpected to anybody, came down incognito'.

For some days he refused to receive any of the lesser officials; the Viceroy advised him to retain the incumbent Chungya, but,

his chief Scrivan [secretary, accountant] giving him but an Indifferent Character, he set him aside and appointed another to take care of this business, to the great Joy of all the Merchants.

On November 16th the merchants were still discussing 'the 10 ℔ Cent Affair' with the Governor.

On December 3rd the merchants again manifested anxiety that the amount of silver paid to them should be concealed:

The Mandareens we believe have again been at our Merch^ts and endeavouring to give them trouble by their coming to us and desiring, when we brought up any mony, that we would conceal it in Cloths or Wine Chests, to which for to give them what help we are able, we consented.

The *Macclesfield* and the *Caesar* were dispatched on December 12th. On the 20th the supercargoes note:

There has been some disputes between the Fooyen's Officers and the Merchants, the former pretend that they have not clear'd their Acco^ts Customs, but the Merchants say it is the affair of the 10 ℔ Ct. which they will not pay, so that they refuse to ship off any Goods.

The supercargoes then on the 24th began to ship, in their own name, chinaware and tea for the *Harrison* and the *Sunderland*, and continued to do so day by day, until January 11, 1728 (1729), when they record:

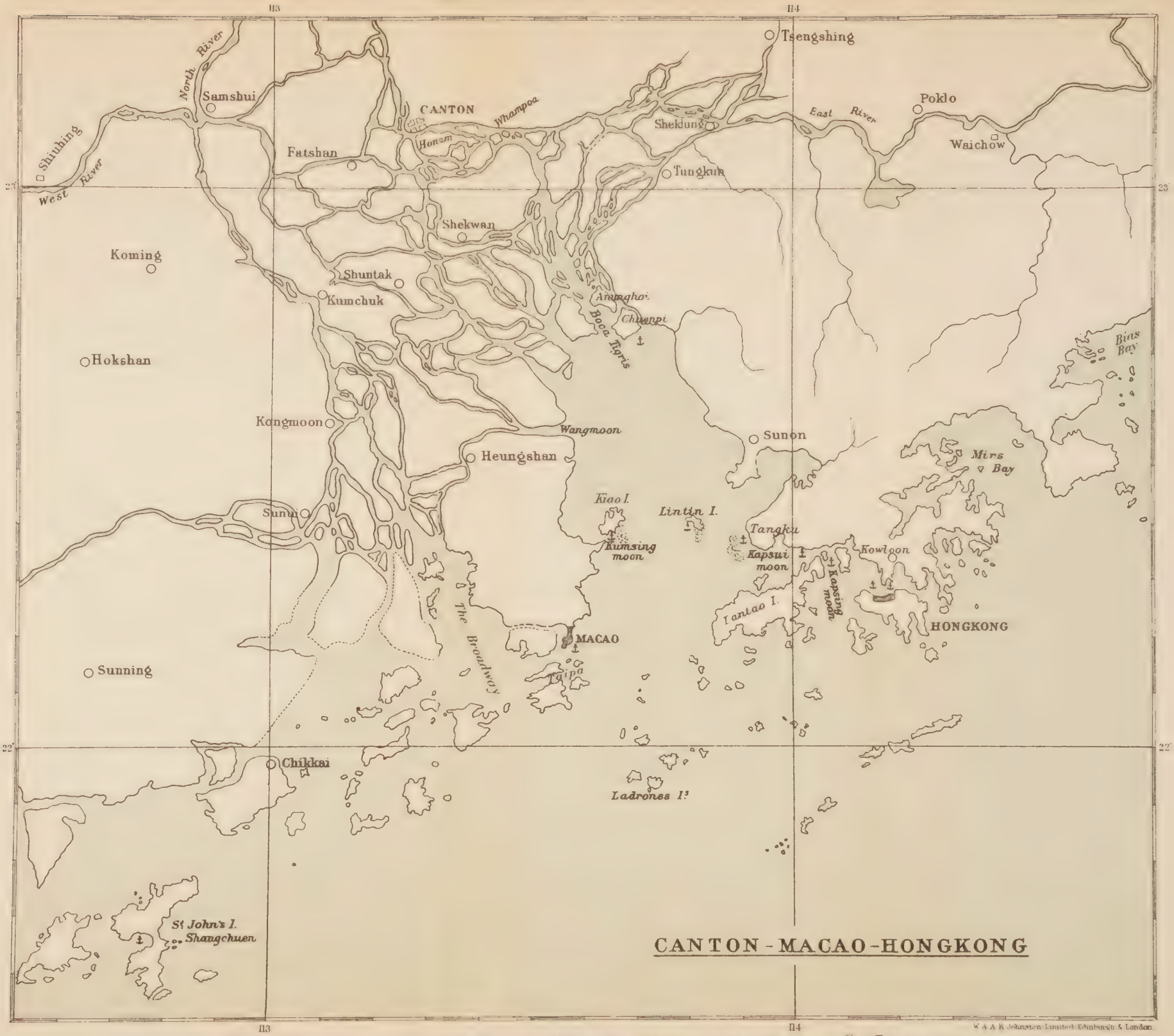
We have been these three days adjusting our Linguist's Acco^ts which could not finish till this day, he is insisting on our paying him the 10 ℔ Cent, no one has yet paid it, and we resolved not to do it, but as our Merchants assure us he has been at a great Charge in presents to & exactions from the Mandareens, we agreed to make him a Present of 100 Tales for his said troubles & Charges.

They received the Grand Chop for the *Harrison* and the *Sunderland* on the 13th, and gave the captains their sailing orders on January 18, 1728 (1729).

The *Sunderland*, a chartered ship, had incurred heavy expenses for repairs, and the supercargoes advanced 5,000 taels to the captain, against his bond for the sum in sterling which 5,000 taels would produce if invested in gold.

Capt. Hutchinson sign'd and deliver'd three Bonds for the Sum of five thousand Tales advanced him for refitting his Ship, and the

THE CANTON FACTORIES, *c.* 1730



Maps, Charts of the E. India Company

advance thereon, according as Gold produces in London at 100 tale Silver of 94 ℔ 10 tale weight of Gold of 93 touch,[1] by which Computation it amounts to Two thousand three hundred eighty eight pounds 11/10½.

This shows a gross profit of 43 per cent.[2]

For the season 1729 four ships were sent to Canton, with a Council of seven, Mr. William Fazakerley being Chief. The ships took on board seventy-five soldiers, and the supercargoes had express orders to seize any Ostenders they met east of the Cape of Good Hope. None were met, either on the way or at Canton; and the soldiers were, by arrangement, sent by two country ships to Bombay. Their pay was 23*s.* a month for privates, from which the cost of 'cloaths and subsistance' was deducted.

The Dutch had always obtained their Chinese produce from the trade between Canton and Batavia; but this year for the first time two ships were sent direct from Holland to Canton. Mr. Fazakerley was instructed to impede them in every way, to spoil their market, and in any case to make them lose their monsoon.

The four ships arrived together on June 15, 1729, and were kept at Typa Quebrada, while Mr. Henry Talbot, Second of Council, went up to Canton to negotiate. He took with him a declaration of the privileges demanded, which were those customary; but one was amplified in such a way as to indicate a groping after extra-territorial jurisdiction.

> That we desire there may be no Punch houses erected at Wampo, that so all quarrells between our Sailors and the Chineese may be prevented, and that we may not at Canton be accountable for any such accidents, it being impossible for us to be answerable for them at such a distance; and that if any of our people should be found to be the Aggressors in any Broils between them and the Chineese, that we ourselves only shall inflict such punishments upon them as they shall deserve and according to the Laws of our Country.

There had been no serious case since that of the gunner's mate of the *King George* in 1722;[3] but the supercargoes must have had always present in their minds the consequences that might ensue from the riotous conduct of hundreds of sailors, after

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 69. [2] Ibid., p. 180. [3] Ibid., p. 174.

a monotonous voyage of six months and a period of enforced moderation in drink, plunged into the attractions of a seaport in a foreign land. Once before, in 1696, one of the Company's supercargoes, Mr. Bowyear, had proposed to the King of Tongking a convention under which three new factories might be established in his dominions, the last three articles being as follows :

4. The English Chief to be empowered to judge and determine all disputes between the English and their servants.

5. That no Mandarin or other person shall be allowed to enter the Factory in a rude affrontive or violent manner, or to seize any in the Factory.

6. Disputes or Lawsuits between the English and Natives to be determined by the Mandarin appointed over the affairs of Foreigners and by no other.

This fell far short of exclusive jurisdiction ; and, such as it was, the King had returned answer that ' in case of a settlement the proposals would be granted '. Once at Amoy, in 1667, the English ship's officers had executed summary justice on one of their own sailors.[1] Now at Canton the Hoppo probably attached no importance to the provision proposed for an emergency that might never arise ; and he accepted all the articles, granting his Chop on June 26th, after a delay of only eight days. The ships were then ordered up to Whampoa.

Prices were much higher, and 10,000 piculs of tea were contracted for at 24 taels for green and 26 taels for black, against 19 and 20 respectively, some lots in 1728 having even been as low as 16 taels. The supercargoes were this year again asked to conceal the amount of silver brought up.

Our Merchants soon after they had contracted with us for part of our Investments, represented how necessary they thought it, both for their ease and ours in transacting our Business, to conceal from the Hoppo a great part of the quantity of Silver we brought out because he seems still to insist with them to have some Duty upon it.

This was directly connected with the impositions upon the Chinese merchants. In the middle of September the supercargoes had been for sixteen days trying in vain to have chinaware shipped for the ground tier of their lading. On urging the

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 64.

merchants, they were told that the Viceroy was pressing for the liquidation of an unpaid balance, 9,000 taels, of a gratuity of 13,000 taels promised to him for last year's shipping; and that he had put in a claim for 17,000 taels gratification for the greater number of ships of this year. The Viceroy had, however, been satisfied,

but now the Hoppo made his demands upon them, which were, not to receive the Customs as usual upon the weight of the Goods, but that he would open all that were ship'd, put what Value he pleased for the Prime Cost and then lay 10 ℘ Cent. This they alleged was now the present occasion of our not shipping. . . . We have undoubted Reason to believe their hatred, their greediness in supplanting one another in Trade by bribing the Mandarins to support those that gave the largest Sums, have brought these Expenses upon all. And in these Countrys voluntary gifts are turned into Arbitrary and Annual Taxations. The Conclusion that we must make is this; That these oppressions whomsoever they come from, or by whatsoever occasioned, do, and will more and more fall upon the European Trade.

The next day the merchants came to some understanding with the Hoppo. Its nature is not recorded; but the difference between a price of 26 taels and a price of less than 20 taels for over 12,000 piculs of tea, would seem to give the merchants sufficient scope for some liberality, and make them active partners with the officials. At the close of the season the supercargoes wrote to the Court:

There is now a Body of them who stile themselves the four Merchants insisting nobody can ship any Goods but in their names, but this chiefly regards the Europe Ships; 'twas insisted a long while we should pay 10 ℘ Cent on our Bullion, but upon our declaring we were determined to suffer anything rather than submitt to such an imposition, it was drop'd. The Merchants we mentioned before are Suqua, Ton Hunqua, Tinqua and Coiqua, whom the English & other Europeans have always transacted their affairs with, these are now combined together & supported by the Hoppo & other Mandarins.

In this partnership the officials profited largely. We are not informed categorically of the result of the dispute over the '10 ℘ Cent', but there is every reason to believe that the merchants paid it. In addition

in former years the Merchants paid about two Tales Pecul Duty upon Teas, they pay four and half this; the Duty on Quicksilver used to be four Tales, it 's now seven.

Of direct trouble the supercargoes had none after September 24th; and, completing their investment, they dispatched two ships on December 9th, and the remaining two on January 13, 1729 (1730).

Private trade belonging to Mr. Wm. Fazakerley:

	Tls.
Gold, 24 bars 240 Tale weight	2,349
Handkerchiefs, 758 pieces, ea. 20 hkfs.	4,169
Tea, 5 piculs	125
Chinaware, Lacquered ware } value not given, estimated at	357
	7,000

Private trade of Captain Elliston, ship *Lynn*:

	£
Gold, 75 bars, 886 ounces	2,500
Tea, 58 piculs	450
Chinaware, 30 chests, 7 tubs, 450 bundles	318
Arrack (taken at Batavia), 18 leaguers	120
Rattans, 300 bundles	15
Mother o' Pearl, 90 cwt.	130
Handkerchiefs, 50 pieces	40
Fans, pictures, lacquered ware, etc.	171
(Tls. 11,232 =)	£3,744

WOVEN SILKS AT CANTON, 1728.

Description.	*Length.*		*Width.*		*Thread.*	*Weight of piece.*	*Cost.*
	Coved.	*Feet.*	*Coved.*	*Inches.*		*Taels.*	*Tls. per piece.*
Satin	45	52·87	2·0	28·2	8	40–41	6·30
Taffeta	38	44·65	2·2	31·0	4	25	3·40
Taffeta	38	44·65	2·2	31·0	6	26–27	4·00
,, sprigged	45	52·87	2·2	31·0	6	34–35	7·55
Gorgoroon	45	52·87	2·0	28·2	8	41	6·30
,,	38	44·65	2·0	..	..	36	5·60
,, striped & flowered	45	52·87	2·0	28·2	8	42	7·00
Bed Damask	45	52·87	2·0	28·2		50–53	7·50
Poisee, flowered	45	52·87	2·0	28·2	8	40–41	6·30
,, ,,	38	44·65	2·0	28·2	..	33	5·60
,, striped & flowered	45	52·87	2·0	28·2	8	45	8·00
Goshee, flowered	38	44·65	2·0	28·2	5	29	4·70
Handkerchiefs, piece containing 20 hkfs., each hkf. 1 yard square	..	..	..	..	..	32	5·50

N.B. The Coved = 14·1 inches.
The Tael = 1⅓ ounce av.

XIX

THE HOLD-OVER CHIEF OF COUNCIL, 1730–1731

For the season 1730 the Court dispatched four ships and a sloop to Canton, with a Council of eight supercargoes, Mr. James Naish being Chief. As far as conditions permitted the ships sailed in company, with rendezvous at St. Iago (Cape Verde), Cape Town, and Batavia. At Batavia Mr. Naish noted that the tea arriving there 'this year' in twenty junks from Chusan, Amoy, and Canton, and six ships from Macao, was 25,000 piculs; and that, after deducting 5,500 piculs for the local market, the balance was available for shipment to Europe. The ships arrived together off Macao on July 13, 1730, and it was resolved not to 'import' them, but to leave them at Typa Quebrada, while Mr. Naish and the two next in seniority of his colleagues went to Canton in the sloop. During the entire season one of the Council, Mr. George Arbuthnot, was a bitter, and even venomous, critic of all that Mr. Naish proposed or did. He kept a diary giving, independently of the Council's diary, a full account of all that was done, highly coloured in its comments and objections. This diary must have been handed in to the Court, since it is now in the India Office records.

At Whampoa on July 15th the supercargoes found one French ship 'of 54 guns and of at least 750 Tons Burthen', and had word of one British country ship anchored two leagues outside Boca Tigris. They delayed their visit to the Hoppo until the 21st, and then protested warmly against the 10 per cent. which had been claimed since 1727 on the silver imported and the merchandise exported. This tax had been resisted and had not before been paid on the silver; and Mr. Naish was the more determined to resist it now since the four ships carried 800,000 dollars, 98 per cent. of their entire stock. As to the surtax on exports, there was every reason to believe that the Chinese merchants had been mulcted of the amount after the departure of the ships of the previous season. In addition to the usual charter of liberties, it was now demanded that the Hoppo's Chop

should explicitly disavow the surtax, and should permit the supercargoes to ship goods in their own name and to pay the tariff duty on them. At the interview the Hoppo disavowed the surtax, and agreed to permit shipments by the supercargoes, if they would declare the names of the sellers. This was not very satisfactory, and the Chop was not very explicit; and the supercargoes declared that, if their demands were not acceded to, they would sail away without doing any trade. But their hands were forced by a protest from the commanders of the four ships that Taipa Anchorage would not be safe in a typhoon, and it was resolved in Council to order the ships to Whampoa, to accept the Hoppo's Chop, which promised exemption from all innovations, and to make their contracts.

The supercargoes have recorded their opinion of the merchants with whom they had to deal.

Suqua for many years past hath been reputed the most considerable Merchant in Canton, and can dispatch any number of Ships in good time, for he is in great Circumstances, and generally allowed to be an able and skillfull Merchant, but He will always endeavour to make a hard Bargain.

Tinqua is next in Rank though at present in very low Circumstances, some indeed suspect him to be greatly in Debt, and Wee fear it is true.

Ton Honqua and Coiqua have made large Contracts for two years past, and . . . there is no reason to doubt either of their Abilities or Performances.

The Merchants above mentioned are those only who have any tolerable Credit at present in Canton, it is indeed a very great Misfortune that there is not many more in good Circumstances, Reputation and Credit.

The Court's instructions were that the supercargoes were to 'engross the green Teas this year expected in Canton', so as, if possible, to prevent the Ostenders, French, and Dutch from getting any, green tea in particular being largely smuggled into England. To secure this end it seemed advisable to make one general contract, and this they made with Suqua for the following quantities:

9,000 piculs	Singlo (green) Tea at	Tls. 24
2,300 ,,	Bohea (black) ,,	,, 22
8,000 pieces	Taffaties } total	Tls. 38,400.
500 ,,	Gorgoroons }	

Under this contract they forthwith advanced to Suqua 32 chests of treasure, 128,000 dollars = 93,088 taels. At a later date they

resumed the practice of having a portion of the silver sent clandestinely to the factory, 'under the Burton Boards in your Long Boat'.

For their factory two hongs were rented at 400 taels each for the season. Coolies, thirteen in number, were employed at Tls. 1·50 per mensem each—fourpence a day; but the factory fed them.

For the measurage of the ships they paid as follows:—

Princess of Wales,	460	tons,	167	units,	dues	Tls.	1,142,	gratuity	1,950–3,092
Lyell,	470	,,	160	,,	,,	,,	1,098,	,,	1,950–3,048
Devonshire,	470	,,	162	,,	,,	,,	1,111,	,,	1,950–3,061
Prince Augustus,	495	,,	179	,,	,,	,,	1,313,	,,	1,950–3,263

The gratuity of 1,950 taels had by this time [1] become stereotyped, and it was claimed even for the *King George* sloop, of only 91 units; there was a long dispute, and ultimately the claim was compromised for 1,000 taels as gratuity, in addition to dues of 437 taels. The 'units', it may be noted, were calculated by multiplying the length of the ship in coveds by the breadth amidships, and dividing the product by ten; the length was in practice from the foremast to the mizenmast, sometimes from middle to middle, sometimes from the outer sides, sometimes from the nearer sides. The depth was not a factor in the calculation.

In addition to the French ship of 750 tons mentioned above, there arrived in port during the season:

Dutch ship *Dove*, 400 tons, 26 guns.
French ship *Thalante*, 550 tons, 28 guns, 140 men.
Prussian ship *Apollo*, 400 tons, 28 guns, 100 men.

It was proved to the supercargoes beyond doubt that the *Apollo* was really an Ostender, commissioned by the Empire,[2] with no right to fly Prussian colours; the supercargo and twenty-three of her crew were also Englishmen. For some years the Court's orders had been to impede the operations of the Ostenders wherever met, and at this time an Ostender was, in addition, an enemy ship; the Empire had not yet acceded, when Mr. Naish left the Downs, to the peace made in 1729 between England and Spain. The supercargoes could not molest the ship while in Chinese waters, but they made all preparations for seizing her when she should leave the shelter of Whampoa. They could not, however, get their own ship ready in time, and the *Apollo* sailed

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 185.

[2] Ibid., p. 161.

without interference; but they took off the twenty-three Englishmen on board, and some other sailors who had deserted at Whampoa from the Company's ships.

While at Canton the supercargoes heard that the *Canton Merchant*, a country ship from Madras, was at Timpa (Tinpak), 150 miles west of Macao, and would lose her season as she was unable to beat up against the monsoon; and that another country ship, the *Prince George* from Madras, was a total wreck between Timpa and Macao, fifty-eight of those on board being drowned and forty-seven saved. Two months later the Chinese officials performed a very graceful act in presenting to each of the survivors a sum of money to a total of 1,980 taels. The presentation was made with ' very great Ceremony by the Foyen [Governor], Hoppo, and all the Great Mandarins of the Province ' in person, and each gift was placed in a bag of yellow silk to indicate that it was given in the name of the Emperor. This Governor, newly arrived from Peking:

hath been addressed upon the Subject of the 10 ℘ Ct. imposition & I have great reason to conclude I shall be well able to get over that Troublesome affair before the arrival of the ships next year.

The following is an abstract of the operations of the fleet of 1730—four ships and a sloop:

Stock:

			Tls.
Silver	Pillar dollars, 588,000 Mexico ,, 75,000 Ducatoons, 93,000 French crowns, 44,000	800,000 =	582,112
Lead, 120 tons at Tls. 3·725 a picul			7,511
Long Ells, 984 pieces at Tls. 6·30			6,201
			595,824

Investment: by the four ships for England:

	Tls.
Tea	374,311
Raw silk, 145 piculs	23,143
Wrought silks	69,461
Tutenague	1,977
2 Screens lacquered with the Company's arms for the Directors' Court-room	241
Miscellaneous Charges	746
	469,879
Investment: by the sloop for Madras	19,067
	488,946
Balance left with Mr. James Naish	106,878
	595,824

The tea was packed in chests containing each an average of 218 catties net = 289 lb. The practice of flooring the ships with chinaware was not followed this year.

The supercargoes and officers all had some private trade. That of Captain Thomas Gilbert of the *Prince of Wales* was :

	Tls.
Tea, 7,520 lb.	2,287
Chinaware	1,785
Sago, 26 piculs	93
Gold, 710 taels at 105 per 10 taels	7,500
	11,665

When the ships left, six supercargoes sailed in them ; Mr. Richard Nicholson had died at Canton on October 11th ; and, by the orders of the Court, Mr. James Naish remained in Canton to await the arrival of the next season's ships, with the special mission of buying green tea so as to ' engross ' it.

For the season 1731 the Court sent four ships to Canton, with five supercargoes on board, Mr. Nathanael Torriano the senior ; on arrival at Canton Mr. James Naish was to be Chief. Mr. Torriano died just after the ships left Batavia. The plan of leaving the Chief of the 1730 Council in Canton to be the Chief of the Council of 1731 was a new expedient. Mr. Naish had great experience in the China trade, having been supercargo to Canton in 1716, 1722, 1725, and 1730. Mr. Torriano also had conducted himself with ability in difficult situations as Chief of Council at Canton in 1721 and 1727 ; he appears to have been of a large mind, and it is probable that, if he had lived, he would have submitted to Mr. Naish's Chiefship, if not cheerfully, at least loyally. But the next two on the Council who had gone out in the ships, Mr. P. Middleton and Mr. A. Wessell, were not content. They maintained that, as they had been selected and had given security two months before sailing, and as Mr. Naish's appointment as Chief had been announced to them only four days before they sailed from Deal, it was an afterthought of the Court ; and as he had not given security for the 1731 voyage, he could only have control of the 106,878 taels left from the stock of 1730, and that they, who had given security, were the proper persons to have the custody of the stock of 1731 ; and further that Mr. Naish could have no claim to share in the 5 per cent. com-

mission to be paid to the supercargoes on the investment of 1731. A bitter feud was carried on in Council, through the entire season; practically every decision was made by a bare majority, Mr. Naish and the two junior in Council voting for it, the second and third signing a written protest against it. Such a state of friction could not have been concealed from the keen eyes of the Chinese merchants and officials, and their knowledge of it must have weakened the prestige of the Company at Canton.

Another unfortunate event was an instruction of the Court that the Council was to investigate charges made against Mr. Fazakerley for his conduct of the business of 1729. That year was noteworthy as the year in which high prices had been paid for tea,[1] of which the bulk had been bought from Suqua; and two of his rivals, Ton Hungqua and Chinqua, wrote a letter to the Court directly accusing Mr. Fazakerley of crediting himself in his accounts with larger sums than were paid to the merchants. The Court sent out instructions which, with our later knowledge of Canton conditions, are distinctly amusing. The merchants were to be convened and certain questions put to them, and they were to be asked if they would testify on oath before a commissioner of oaths to be sent out (later) from England, or, failing that, if they would make a declaration on oath before their own magistrates in the same way as before a commissioner. After some skirmishing between the two parties in the Council, the merchants were convened, but no further steps are recorded; the only later reference on record is a statement sent to the Court:

> As to the Inquiry into Mr. Fazakerley's & Council's transactions we have taken a great deal of pains, tho' the want of language on both sides has made it infinitely more difficult to come at their manner of attesting facts than we did apprehend, we have made a considerable progress and shall perfect it to the best of our capacity.

Either the dissensions in the Council prevented any definite decision, or it was found that the nature of the evidence depended solely upon whether the deponents wished most to hit at the Company, or Mr. Fazakerley, or Suqua, or the present supercargoes or a section of them.

Consequent upon the suspicion of fraudulent collusion between

[1] Cf. *antea*, pp. 194–5.

Mr. Fazakerley and Suqua, with whom the main contract had been made in 1729, and in 1730 as well, the Court had ordered that Suqua should be set aside in 1731, and that Ton Hungqua and Chinqua should be put in his place. But first the supercargoes had to obtain their Chop for freedom of trade, and especially to ship their own goods and exemption from the 10 per cent.; pending which, they kept their ships outside.

During his winter in Canton Mr. Naish had ascertained beyond doubt that the merchants had paid the 10 per cent. on all their sales to him; and after the Council was established in Canton, July 2nd, they summoned fourteen merchants to a conference. They were all agreed that it had been paid in Mr. Godfrey's year (1728), in Mr. Fazakerley's (1729), and in Mr. Naish's (1730), and by all the merchants; as to the two years previous, Mr. Savage's (1726) and Mr. Torriano's (1727), they differed; some said it had been paid, some that nothing was paid, some that presents were made in Mr. Savage's year but not amounting to 10 per cent., nearly all that nothing was paid in Mr. Torriano's year.

The Hoppo's Chop was not very explicit, and did not refer to the supercargoes' two specific demands; and they delayed 'importing' the ships. But, on July 17th, they learned of the arrival of three Dutch, two French, and a Danish ship at Macao; and at once they made their contract with Ton Hungqua and Chinqua, and ordered the ships to Whampoa, abandoning all idea of bringing further pressure to bear on the Hoppo. The contract included:

Raw silk, 600 piculs at Tls. 155.
Tutenague, 800 ,, ,, ,, 6·50.
Tea, Singlo, 1,400 ,, ,, ,, 16.
,, Bohea, 4,000 piculs at Tls. 17 (without lead or chests).
Finer teas (Congo and Pekoe), 400 piculs for Tls. 14,000.
Woven silks, 15,600 pieces for Tls. 77,000.

In addition Mr. Naish had contracted in the spring for:

Tea, Singlo, 4,600 piculs at Tls. 15.
,, Bohea, 1,000 ,, ,, ,, 15.
Finer teas, 700 piculs for Tls. 21,000.
Woven silks, 4,000 pieces for Tls. 18,550.

Messrs. Middleton and Wessell maintained that Mr. Naish's instructions only covered the provision of green tea, and con-

tinued, through five months, to protest against accepting any of his purchases except the Singlo tea.

The supercargoes were instructed to invest £60,000 in gold, and found they could not get it at less than 105 taels of 94 silver per 10-tael shoe of 93 gold. At this price they contracted for 1,000 shoes; but, the price being high, they gave the four captains the option of taking their £2,500 licensed to each by the Company, and buying their own gold. This offer was accepted by all four. One supercargo, the junior of Council, asked the same freedom for his £2,000, but this was voted down in Council. There was a great demand for gold that year, the probable requirements for themselves, four country ships, and three under other flags, being estimated at 7,000 shoes; and later purchases were made by the captains at 110 and for the Company's account at 112 and 115—the highest prices yet recorded.

Advances had by this time become the rule, and were made to all the merchants to allow them to send money up country for tea and silk. On October 17th, three months after their contract was made, two months before the dispatch of the first two ships, three months before the dispatch of the last two, the account of the principal contractors, Ton Hungqua and Chinqua, stood thus:

Dr. to advances, Tls. 257,080.	Cr. by deliveries, Tls. 93,267
	Balance due, ,, 163,813

On the same day a further advance of Tls. 37,511 was made to them.

Under instructions the contract had been made with these two (who were in partnership) and Suqua had been excluded; but the contract had no sooner been made, when, on July 19th,

> the Hoppo's Cophang came with the Linguist to us and asked us whether we had yet sent for our ships, and we answered we had; he then said his Master had ordered him to acquaint us that he would not suffer Ton Hunqua to ship off any goods or trade with us this year.

The supercargoes at once sent an order to the ships to proceed no farther than Chuenpi; and then summoned Suqua, who had been set aside and who had doubtless inspired the Hoppo to take this action, and invited him, by the memory of their past relations, to help ' in clearing up any misunderstanding that may

arise between any Merchants we may deal with and the Hoppo'. Three other merchants, with whom minor contracts had been made, were also asked to intervene. Ten days later Ton Hungqua was present at a Council and informed the supercargoes that he had been imprisoned for five days by the Namhoi Hien; that in Mr. Godfrey's year (1728) he had undergone a similar experience for twelve days; and that he had seen the Hoppo and made up all differences between them.

This was ominous of the future day when the Chinese merchants were to be banded together into a close corporation under the strict control of the Hoppo; but in the present instance the only clear indication is that Suqua had made his private arrangement with the Hoppo, and had as a result been admitted to a share in Ton Hungqua's contracts.

Up to this year the ships at Whampoa had always been free to obtain their supplies in open market, and had selected their own comprador;[1] but on August 25th the captains each wrote that

> I am so far deprived of the usual priviledges, that I am not allowed to buy my Ship's provisions where I would, but have had my Compradore taken from me, and another impos'd upon me, who gives me just what he pleases, and that at an extravagant price.

This was the beginning of an exaction which developed into a perfectly organized system, by which the comprador bought the right to supply the ship, and charged, practically, his own prices; one captain suggested the only means of restraining the exaction: 'whom I am obliged to deal with or expend my salt provisions.' The supercargoes complained and protested, but to no effect.

It had hitherto been the practice to pack all silks, both raw and wrought, in chests. This year a new method was adopted, one which has been continued since that date.

> We have been for some time considering how to pack our Raw Silk and find that we shall have two great advantages by keeping it in the package it comes from Nankeen and adding thereto a good wax cloth and a matt over that and then the bale to be rattan'd which rattanning comes within the bale and reduces it to such a compass as will take up much less room than if the Silk was stowed in a chest, the other advantage is that the coulour will certainly be much better

[1] Ship-chandler.

preserved in the bale than in the chest. The Directors of the French Company being so sensible of this that they have ordered Mr. Duvelaer (he himself told Mr. Naish) to send all their Raw Silk in Bales.

The supercargoes had continued to bring up from Whampoa a portion (perhaps a fifth part) of their silver clandestinely; but on September 28th 'Ton Hungqua and Chinqua desired that no more Silver be secreted in our Long Boats since the Hoppo's Officers had several times discovered the silver in the secret places'.

Account of the Voyage to Canton ℔ Ships *Hartford*, *Macclesfield*, *Caesar*, and *Harrison* for Acco[t] of the Hon[ble] The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

		Tls.
Dr. to Silver, 227 chests (908,000 dollars) producing		655,479
,, Lead, 117 tons at Tls. 3·30 a picul	,,	6,498
,, Long Ells, 992 pieces at Tls. 6·30	,,	6,248
,, Palm wine, stationery, etc.		1,264
,, Surplus Stock from last year [1]		106,878
,, Rec'd from Ton Hungqua & Chinqua as interest for short deliveries of gold and silk		2,052
		778,419

	Tls.	Tls.
Cr. by 10 chests Silver to Captains for gold		29,801
,, Investment Ship *Macclesfield*	181,172	
,, ,, ,, *Caesar*	172,027	
,, ,, ,, *Hartford*	183,674	
,, ,, ,, *Harrison*	184,252	
		721,125
,, Surplus left in iron chest with Ton Hungqua		25,842
,, Balance to be accounted for by Messrs. Middleton and Wessell		1,651
		778,419

One of the last protests delivered in Council by Messrs. Middleton and Wessell was against leaving the surplus, Tls. 25,842, locked up in an iron chest, instead of leaving it on deposit with Ton Hungqua, from whom one per cent. a month interest could have been obtained. In their remuneration the supercargoes were dealt with very liberally. Though Mr. Naish, holding over from 1730, was explicitly named as Chief, no provision from the 1731 investment was made for him in the instructions to the

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 200.

supercargoes. The other five were to receive commission on the prime cost of the investment, in addition to the customary allowance, gold permission, and privilege, as follows :

	Commission per cent.	*Allowance.*	*Permission.*	*Privilege*
	£ s. d.	£	£	£
Mr. Torriano .	1 5 0	2,000	5,000	200
Mr. Middleton .	0 17 6	1,500	3,000	150
Mr. Wessell . .	0 15 0	1,200	2,500	140
Mr. Moreton .	0 15 0	1,200	2,500	140
Mr. ffytche . .	0 12 6	800	2,000	130

What modification in the scale of remuneration was made by Mr. Torriano's death is not recorded ; but, had he lived, he would have provided £5,200 capital and have realized a profit of about £7,000. Each of the four captains was allowed 13 tons, space on board for private trade, and in addition had permission for £2,500 to be invested in gold. In addition to his gold Captain Hudson of the *Macclesfield* included among other articles 7,450 lb. of tea and 1,200 lb. of Chinese ink ; Captain Mabbott of the *Caesar* 7,600 lb. of tea and 1,325 lb. of ink.

Under the instructions Mr. Torriano was to have remained in Canton through the winter and to have joined the Council of 1732 as Chief.

XX

PROHIBITION OF OPIUM

For the season 1732 the Court again dispatched four ships to Canton with seven supercargoes on board, of whom Mr. George Arbuthnot was senior. Mr. Torriano, who was to have remained in Canton, was to have been Chief, but on his death Mr. Arbuthnot would assume that position. Again there was no provision recorded in the instructions for any remuneration to Mr. Torriano from this voyage. The other seven supercargoes were to be rewarded as follows :

	Commission per cent. £ s. d.	*Allowance.* £	*Permission.* £	*Privilege.* £
Mr. Arbuthnot .	1 5 0	2,000	5,000	400
Mr. W. Turner .	17 6	1,500	4,000	300
Mr. J. Starke .	15 0	1,200	3,000	250
Mr. E. Pratt .	15 0	1,200	3,000	200
Mr. M. Lethieullier	12 6	800	2,800	200
Mr. H. Plant .	7 6	600	900	150
Mr. T. Liell . .	7 6	600	900	150

The four captains had permission for £4,000 in gold each and 13 tons space for private trade.

The stock consisted, as was now usual, of only 1,000 pieces of long ells, and 160 tons of lead, with 656,000 dollars in silver. Towards the end of their season the supercargoes report that, in one year, the market could absorb 1,000 pieces of long ells (perpetuanoes), but practically no cloth and no callimancoes ; and that of lead, which formerly was ' as good as money ', 160 tons were now too much, the maximum to sell at any profit being 80 tons in one year ; the total realizable value of those quantities of woollens and lead being 10,500 taels.

Three of the ships arrived off Macao on June 20, 1732 ; but the *Lynn*, with Mr. Arbuthnot on board, had parted company ten days after leaving the Downs, and was not seen again until she arrived at Macao on July 19th. She then reported the death of Mr. Arbuthnot the day before. Mr. Whichcott Turner acted

as Chief from Batavia on, and continued in that capacity through the season.

By the ships the Court sent a letter in which they thanked Ton Hungqua for his loyal and straightforward action in exposing the iniquities of Mr. Fazakerley ; and, as a mark of their esteem, they sent him a present of English plate and furniture, and some fine cloth. It may be recorded here that he also sent to the Court, probably by Mr. Arbuthnot's hands, a second letter bringing similar charges against Mr. Naish for his conduct of the Company's business in 1730 ; and the Court sent out instructions, but too late to be acted on in 1732, to investigate these accusations, and a further charge of their own based on Mr. Middleton's report, that he had committed the unpardonable offence of leaving his surplus of the 1731 voyage in such a way that it drew no interest.

In the letters left behind for their successors Messrs. Middleton and Wessell wrote that they

> take the liberty of recommending you as the Hon^ble^ Company did us to Ton Hungqua & Chinqua, of whom we do affirm they have answered the high character given them by our Hon^ble^ Masters.

Mr. Naish, on the other hand, wrote that their teas were bad, that they had required excessive advances, but that he would not have expressed an opinion

> if I was not now thoroughly convinced Messrs. Middleton & Wessell have wrote & will write you largely concerning our transactions, & that you will have many more encomiums in favour of Ton Hungqua & Chinqua than they really ought to have.

As these merchants, who were partners in the same firm, had been especially recommended by the Court to Mr. Naish and to the present Council, Mr. Turner's first act, on arriving at Canton, was to try to get into touch with them ; but he learned that Ton Hungqua was in difficulties owing to the enmity of the Hoppo, and was afraid to stir abroad. Daily visits through three weeks failed to procure a sight of either ; and repeated applications for the chest of silver were successful only on September 11th. During the whole season Chinqua was invisible ; but on September 26th the Hoppo was suspended from office, and two days later Ton Hungqua presented himself at the

factory. The Court's gift was not sent to him until December 18th, and even then he requested that 'the plate, if we could conveniently do it, might be brought up in a private manner'.

In the record of this voyage we have a note showing the inexactitude attending all money transactions in China. The supercargoes requested six of the merchants having the most important contracts with them, to send their weights for comparison; and, on weighing the 100-tael and 50-tael weights, they found the equivalence of the tael to be as follows:

Young Hungqua's	580·3	grains
Mandareen Quiqua's	579·84	,,
Leonqua's	580·1	,,
Beau Khiqua's	580·05	,,
Tinqua's	579·74	,,
Pinky's	579·85	,,
Average	579·98	,,

There is also note of an incident ominous of the future control to be exercised over the foreigners at Canton.

The Dutch Supracargoes & Captains going down to Wampoo last Saturday, Tinqua and y^e^ Linguist went to their factory & acquainted them it was the Hoppo's desire that they would fire no Guns whilst there, but it was lightly regarded by them, for they continued firing most part of Saturday afternoon & Sunday morning. In y^e^ evening return'd to Canton, the Hoppo being told of their proceedings at Wampoo sent a chain for their Linguist & order'd all y^e^ coolies & servants to leave their Factory, he likewise sent for all y^e^ Merch^ts^ & was very angry with them that they did not perswade y^e^ Dutch to comply with all his desire, & Tinqua narrowly escaped a chain likewise.

One order became afterwards the regular practice in the Chinese trade, so as to prevent trade secrets from being divulged. Before arriving at Macao an order was given to each of the captains

to get into your possession all the Letters that your Officers & Seamen may have on board your Ship, directed to any person whatsoever, in China or Maccao, & that you prevent if you can possible any Letter or Letters being delivered out of your Ship, till you have further orders relating thereto.

Orders to release the letters were given when the supercargoes had completed the main part of their investment. Mr. Turner made some inquiries about the 10 per cent., but seems to have had no hope of having it remitted. When the Hoppo refused to see him until his ships should be at Whampoa, the ships were

ordered up. At his interview he pleaded for exemption from exactions; but he accepted a Chop in general terms, as his predecessors, who had made a stouter fight, had been forced to do in the end. He then made his opening contracts with Tinqua and with Khiqua, and later with other merchants, but none with Suqua or with Ton Hungqua and Chinqua. On September 26th an Imperial order was received by the Viceroy and the Governor to suspend the Hoppo. This was probably a move in the suit of Ton Hungqua *v.* Suqua with the Hoppo intervening. The immediate result was that Ton Hungqua again had the freedom of the streets; that Suqua, who that year had 'large dealings' with the Swedish ships but none with the English, was cast into prison; and that the Hoppo was dismissed from office, the Provincial Treasurer being appointed temporarily to administer it.

All the supercargoes then in port—English, Dutch, French, Ostenders, and Swedish—thereupon agreed to present a joint demand in the following terms:

1. We desire he will issue out a Chop acquainting us what the Emperour's duties are.

2. That for many years we have paid a duty of 6 ℔ Ct. which we apprehend to be laid on contrary to y^e^ Emperour's knowledge, if it is desire we may not pay it for y^e^ future.

3. That for these last 3 or 4 years we have been forced to pay an imposition of 10 ℔ Ct. which we are confident is contrary to the knowledge of y^e^ Emperour, & so desire a remittance thereof.

4. That by our Compredore's being forced to pay a large sum for his Chop, we pay exorbitantly for our provisions, so desire he may not pay for his Chop for the future.

5. The presents amounting to 1,950 Tale each ship, being an extravagant summ, & we believe contrary to y^e^ Emperour's knowledge, so hope they will be remitted us.

The Provincial Treasurer, acting as Hoppo, returned a benignant answer, which did not commit him deeply, and the rebellion was ended.

In his trading operations Mr. Turner was successful. Gold was no longer obtainable at its old price of about touch for touch; but he was able to get what he wanted at 105 to 106, the sum so invested amounting to close on 200,000 taels. He obtained a large quantity of tutenague at prices from Tls. 6·50 to Tls. 7·00; white sugar at Tls. 2·35; sugar candy at Tls. 4·45 a picul, packing, duties, and all charges included. In tea he was very

fortunate. He was instructed to buy little green tea, and, as much had been bought in recent years, the lessened demand lowered the price. In black tea the market had been hit by heavy losses in the leaf sent in 1731 by the Chinese merchants to Batavia, Suqua having, it was said, lost 30,000 taels on his shipments alone. The first contract for Bohea (black) tea was made at Tls. 18, packing and all charges included; at the end of July larger contracts were made at Tls. 13 to 13·50, and a little later at Tls. 14. Camphor, now never sent by the same ship as tea, was bought at Tls. 15·50.

Silver was sent up from Whampoa clandestinely to a greater extent than usual. Once the Hoppo's officers discovered four bags (4,000 dollars).

This is the first time they have been so strict in their examination, so must wait for a more favourable opportunity, or find out some new method if should have occasion to bring up any more in a private manner.

One disagreeable discovery was made, throwing a doubt on the touch of the dollars:

We cannot but with great difficulty perswade our Merchants when advance them any money, to take our pillar Dollars insisting that 1729, 1730, & 1731 are not above 93 touch, and among those we received ℔ ship *Lynn* we find a great many of 1729 & 1730.

This was serious, since pillar dollars (of the Seville mint) had always been rated at 95 touch. The supercargoes also weighed the entire contents of 30 chests of 4,000 dollars each, and found 'every bag short of what invoiced from 19 dwt. to 4 dwt. each', or from ¾ oz. to nearly 4 oz. on each chest. As they paid their advances in units of a chest, which was taken as 290 lb. 8 oz. troy each, this affected their credit.

The ships at Whampoa that season were the following:

Company's:	*Compton*	440	tons,	30	guns,	90	men
	Lynn	480	,,	32	,,	96	,,
	Windham	470	,,	32	,,	94	,,
	Richmond	460	,,	32	,,	92	,,
Country:	*Nassau*	700	,,	24	,,	140	,,
	Royall George	700	,,	24	,,	140	,,
Dutch:	*Knapen Hoe*	450	,,	36	,,	110	,,
	Ypenraade	440	,,	36	,,	106	,,
Ostend:	*Duke of Lorraine*	759	,,	36	,,	140	,,
Swedish:	*King Fredrik*	400	,,	28	,,	96	,,
Spanish:	*B. A. Maranetta*	200	,,	10	,,	30	,,

At Macao were seven Portuguese ships ; and at Whampoa also one French ship of about 600 tons. The practice of having a factor permanently resident at Canton had apparently been resumed by the French, but by them alone.

The *Compton* was dispatched to Bombay on October 15th with the following cargo, 400 tons net dead weight in a ship of 440 tons burthen :

	Tls.
Gold, 220 bars & 210 shoes, 4,239 taels of 93 touch . .	44,889
White sugar, 1,999 piculs	4,773
Sugar Candy, 847 ,, ...	3,782
Tutenague, 3,500 ,, ...	23,027
Camphor, 160 ,, ...	2,476
Charges of Merchandize	3,853
	82,850

The *Lynn* and the *Richmond* were dispatched to England with full cargoes on January 6, 1732 (1733), followed by the *Wyndham* to Madras, but details of their lading are not recorded.

The captains, in addition to £4,000 licensed for gold in a joint stock with the Company, had the privilege of 13 tons measurement for private trade ; but the proceeds of any woollens taken out must be invested in gold. Captain Gough of the *Lynn* sold his woollens for 5,006 taels, with which he bought gold costing £1,647 ; the rest of his venture outwards he sold and invested in tea, chinaware, silks, and other goods costing £3,617 ; so that this shipmaster was interested in the return cargo of his own ship to the extent of £9,264.

The *Compton*, with Mr. John Starke on board as chief and Mr. Plant as junior, arrived at Anjengo on the Malabar Coast on December 18th. She landed three-fourths of her gold there, and the remainder at Tellicherri, and arrived at Bombay on February 17, 1732 (1733). There and at Surat her cargo of gruff goods was sold by public outcry, realizing the following prices :

White sugar,	4	rupees	2	annas	₹	Surat maund of	40 lb.
Sugar candy,	6	,,	9	,,	₹	,, ,,	,,
Tutenague,	7	,,	15	,,	₹	,, ,,	,,
Camphor,	46	,,	8	,,	₹	,, ,,	,,

With the gold there was much trouble, because the factors on shore were not qualified to ' touch ' its quality, but had to trust to their shroffs. At Anjengo Messrs. Starke and Plant ' sold

ninety shoes of our own private Gold (the same sort as was delivered you) at 366 rupees for 10 Tale weight'; whereas the factors' shroffs assigned to the Company's gold a value of no more than 327 rupees—a loss of over 10 per cent. At Tellicherri the conditions were better, but still such as to show a loss. The factors at the two places were accordingly requested to hold the gold until instructions could be received from the President and Council at Bombay, it being Mr. Starke's intention to propose that it be sent to the mint at Madras. This plan was adopted at Bombay; but a new factor at Anjengo had sold 139 shoes, for which he paid as follows:

	Rupees
3 chests = 10,464 oz. Mexico dollars at 245 rup. 3 qrs. 32½ rs. produces	25,723. 3. 12
Balance paid for in rupees	24,276
Total	50,000

As the shoes at 106 cost 14,734 taels of 94 silver, there was (at 3 rupees = 1 tael) a profit of 13 per cent.

The balance of the gold, 71 shoes and 220 bars, was found by the Madras mint to weigh 3,424 oz. troy, and on being coined realized 33,565 Pagodas; in exchange for which the Madras Council delivered to the *Compton* 13 chests of silver, net weight 3,695 lb. 9 oz. 4 dwt.

A stock of £45,000 was provided for the *Compton* on her return to Canton, consisting of putchuck from Bombay, 1,000 candys of pepper from Tellicherri, and silver; it was made up as follows:

	Rupees
Net proceeds of sale of cargo from Canton	160,455
Value of gold sold or coined	134,666
Balance provided by Bombay Council	64,879
	360,000

For the balance of 64,879 rupees = £8,110, Messrs. Starke and Plant gave a receipt for 26,392 oz. of Mexico dollar silver.

The *Compton* left Madras for Canton on May 25, 1733, in company with the *Wyndham* from Canton for Canton, and the *Prince Augustus* from London for Canton and then for Madras; and all arrived at Whampoa on July 22nd. Messrs. Turner and Lethieullier were on the *Wyndham* for the round trip. The Council for 1733 was thus reconstituted of four members, with Mr. Turner as Chief.

Before arriving at Malacca the Council issued a very important order :

Taking into Consideration that as the Shipps *Windlesham & Compton* came last from Fort St. George, the profitt made on Ophium to China might induce the Commanders or Officers to purchase some for that markett, not being sensible of the dangerous consequences that would attend their so doing, we agree to write to Capt. Lyell & Capt. Holmes, each of them as follows.

On board the *Windham* June 16th

It having been a usual thing heretofore, for shipps bound from Fort St. George, to carry ophium with them for sale to China, & not knowing but that there might be some of that commodity now on board your ship design'd for the same markett, we think it our Duty (lest you should be a Stranger to itt) to acquaint you with the late severe laws enacted by the Emperour of China for y^e^ prohibition of Ophium, the penalty, should any be seiz'd on board your Ship, being no less than y^e^ confiscation of Ship & Cargoes to the Emperour, as well as death to the person who should dare offer to buy it of you ; upon these considerations therefore, & the more effectually to prevent any such like misfortune attending of us, you are hereby required to take the best measures you possibly can, by a strict enquiry & search in your ship, to be well informed whether there be any such thing on board or not, & in case there be, that you then take effectual care to have it removed out of your Ship before you leave Malacca, since upon no consideration whatsoever, you are neither to carry, nor suffer any of it to be carry'd in your Ship to China, as you will answer the contrary to the Hon^ble^ Company at your peril.

This is the first reference to opium in the records of voyages to China, all previous references, and those but few, having been to its carriage to Sumatra, Java, and Borneo. The 'late severe laws' must refer to the Imperial decree of 1729, the seventh year of Yungcheng, by which severe penalties were imposed on those who opened opium divans or sold opium for smoking.[1] Mr. Turner had been in Canton the year before, three years after the issue of the decree, and it is to be presumed that he was then informed of it ; but it is unlikely that he, or any authority in India, ever saw the text or had it in their possession ; and all that can be said is that this was the purport of its provisions as communicated to him in pidgin English by Chinese, merchants or linguists, who were not especially concerned with it. The chief importance of this order is that the Company, which had not at any time

[1] Cf. *International Relation of the Chinese Empire*, vol. i, chap. viii, *passim*.

sent any opium to China, now by its agents prohibited its carriage in its ships for the future; but Portuguese ships continued to carry it from Goa and Daman, and it was open to French ships to carry it from Pondicherri, or to Dutch ships or country ships (English or 'Moors') from any of their factories in India.

Mr. Turner's chief concern (and he states that it was his only difficulty) this season was over the 10 per cent. At the very outset on July 23rd, he broached the subject to several of the merchants, urging especially that, as his two ships were laden from Madras, they should be treated as country ships, from which the exaction had never been demanded; but they could offer him no encouragement. On no less than twelve occasions in the next four months he brought the matter up; but on each occasion it was impressed on him that this Hoppo was a very great personage indeed, and that no relaxation could be looked for from an official of his high standing. The only result from the claim that his were country ships was that the *Prince Augustus*, which had been under charter to the Company in 1727 and 1730, but was now trading under licence, was brought into the net and the merchants were compelled to pay the 10 per cent. (i. e. a total surtax of 16 per cent.) on her investment, before the Hoppo would consent to issue her Grand Chop. At last the Hoppo had laid a solid foundation for a method of imposing special taxes on the foreign trade through the Chinese merchants, who were in his power, without troubling the foreigners, who were too much inclined to protest. But all through the season Mr. Turner was hopeful, and made his contracts with the condition 'the seller to pay Customs, packing and all charges, and in case the 10 ℘ Ct. is remitted this year he is to deduct it from the above account'.

The *Compton* loaded at Tellicherri 997¾ candys (Khandi) of pepper at 600 lb. the candy, 598,650 lb., costing 71,600 rupees, at the rate of Rs. 15·9 = Tls. 5·30 a picul; and it was sold at Canton, to somewhat reluctant buyers, at Tls. 7·30 a picul. The putchuck, about 100 piculs, could only be sold in truck, at Tls. 20 against Bohea tea at Tls. 18 a picul.

The first purchase of gold was made on August 2nd 'at 106 tales sycee for ten tale wt. of Gold of 93 touch'. This was an

unusual way of quoting, as 106 taels sycee were equivalent to Tls. 112·75 current silver of 94; and five days later, on August 7th, we have a contract 'at 115 Tale dollar Money for 10 tale wt. of Gold of 93 touch'. Later purchases were made at between 117 and 122·50.

The supercargoes debated whether they should deal this year with Ton Hungqua, who had been so warmly recommended by the Court to the Councils of 1731 and 1732; but they learned from himself that his partner, Chinqua, was lately dead, and that he was still involved in his 'lawsuit' with the old Hoppo; and as the latter was 'a Tartar whose countrymen are in all the great places of trust & have always the Emperour's ear', they decided that Ton Hungqua's difficulties were insurmountable and that it would not be safe to contract with him. His rival, Suqua, had been thrown into prison the previous year by the new Hoppo, and was still a prisoner. Thus both were sucked dry by the officials and their servants, and both were out of the market.

The supercargoes waited, in hope of Suqua's release, until within a few days of their departure, and then took up the investigation into Mr. Naish's conduct of business in 1730. They first applied to each one of the merchants with whom they had relations, and used every persuasion to induce them to testify as to Suqua's prices in contracting with Mr. Naish; but not one would own to any knowledge on the subject. They then applied to Ton Hungqua, who had formulated the charge, but 'on our application to him, he said he knew nothing of the matter'. After this they went to Suqua's partner, Tonqua, and to his bookkeeper Chinqua; but 'Chinqua who speaks English answered us that they knew nothing of the prices agreed on between Mr. Naish and Suqua, that Suqua had all the books in his possession, & that even Tonqua himself did not know it, and that nobody but Suqua could give us a true and satisfactory account'. Then with some difficulty, and by the customary methods, Tonqua obtained admission to Suqua's prison cell and reported that he 'could get nothing from him, saying he was greatly indisposed by his long imprisonment, & could not talk of business'.

The action of the Court against Mr. Fazakerley and Mr. Naish

indicates a great degree of sensitiveness at East India House, and a state of constant suspicion of the Company's agents in the Indies. Their fear is reflected in the increasing amount of the remuneration given to the supercargoes in these three years; and is evidenced by the ready credence given to accusations brought against them, whether by disappointed Chinese traders or by jealous colleagues on the Council. The attempt to reopen the transactions of 1729 and 1730 and to investigate the honesty of the Company's agents through inquiries made among the Chinese merchants had failed, and must fail; and the Court was left with its suspicions, and the knowledge that the only way of securing trustworthy agents was by care in their selection and by adequate remuneration. In one respect the Court was fortunate, in that Mr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Naish's venomous critic, did not survive to conduct the inquiry.

The shipping at Canton in 1733 consisted of 5 English ships (1,805 tons burthen), 3 French (1,520 tons), 4 Dutch (1,890 tons); and at Macao were 9 Portuguese ships doing a poor trade to India and the Malay Archipelago.

The supercargoes, 'being determined to lye at none of the Merchants' hongs', had retained the factory occupied by them in 1732, at a rental of 600 taels for the season. The joint stock investment for the two ships amounted to 294,025 taels, including 67,675 taels, the value of the indulged gold for the supercargoes and commanders. Besides the gold, the lading of the two ships was as follows:

Tutenague,	1,620 piculs.
Tea,	5,459 piculs.
Woven silks,	19,984 pieces.

The value of the private trade of the supercargoes and of the officers of the *Compton* is not recorded; but on the *Wyndham* it was as follows:

		Tls.
Capt. Lyell:	Gold, proceeds of indulged venture in woollens	8,263
	Woven silks, 690 pieces	2,898
	Tea, 7,210 lb.	2,330
	Chinaware, 20 chests, 21 boxes, 1,200 bundles	2,725
	Lacquered ware, Dragon's blood, mother o' pearl, Aloes, arrack, cinnabar	2,081
		18,297

	Tls.
Mr. R. Shutter, Chief mate : Woven silks, 800 pieces	2,650
Tea (465 lb.), lacquered ware, chinaware	257
	2,907

	Tls.
Mr. M. Woodford, 2nd Mate : Woven silks, 474 pieces	1,618
Tea (240 lb.), chinaware	208
	1,826

Comprador's contract for provisions at Canton, anno 1733.

		Tls.	m.	c.	c.			Tls.	m.	c.	c.
Beef	Catty	–	2	–	–	Pears	Catty	–	–	2	–
Milk	,,	–	–	1	4	Potatoes	,,	–	–	1	–
Pork fat	,,	–	–	4	–	Charcoal	Picul	–	1	5	–
Fish, ordinary	,,	–	–	1	6	Sugar	,,	2	8	–	–
,, best	,,	–	–	2	5	Sugar Candy	,,	4	4	–	–
Carrots & turnips	,,	–	–	–	8	Straw	,,	–	–	8	–
Flour	,,	–	–	1	6	Rice	,,	–	9	–	–
Salt	,,	–	–	2	–	Wood	,,	–	–	5	5
Capons	,,	–	–	4	2	Paddy husk	,,	–	–	1	–
Ducks	,,	–	–	2	–	Sheep	each	4	4	–	–
Geese	,,	–	–	3	–	Pigeon	,,	–	–	4	–
Fowls	,,	–	–	3	5	Rabbit	,,	–	1	5	–
Lamp oil	,,	–	–	3	6	Snipe	,,	–	–	2	–
Wax candles	,,	–	2	–	–	Partridge	,,	–	–	4	–
Tallow candles	,,	–	–	4	–	Calf	,,	2	3	–	–
Vinegar & Soy	,,	–	–	1	–	Pig	,,	–	4	–	–
Vermicelli	,,	–	–	3	–	Bread, 100 loaves	,,	1	8	–	–
Pork	,,	–	–	4	–						

XXI

ATTEMPTING AMOY, 1734

The Court was now resolved to make an attempt to get around the obstruction at Canton; and for the season 1734 they dispatched two ships from London, the *Grafton* for Amoy, and the *Harrison* for Canton. The supercargoes were again treated with the liberality which had now become customary, receiving their reward in four kinds; but their commission was at a higher rate, and, moreover, was for the first time to be a percentage of the price realized at the Company's sales in London, and not of the prime cost in China. The seven supercargoes were not this year to form one Council, since the ships were ordered to different ports; the three on one ship and the four on the other were to have approximately the same total for the ship:

	Commission.	*Allowance.*	*Indulged Gold.*	*Privilege.*
Grafton:	£ s. d.	£	£	£
Capt. R. Hudson .	2 10 0	2,000	3,750	None
Mr. T. ffytch .	1 10 0	1,000	3,000	150
Mr. A. Reid .	1 0 0	700	2,250	100
Harrison:				
Mr. A. Wessell .	1 15 0	1,000	3,000	150
Mr. J. Elwick .	1 15 0	1,000	3,000	150
Mr. J. Raper .	1 0 0	700	2,250	100
Mr. F. Pigou .	10 0	500	1,500	75

Captain Hudson, commanding the *Grafton*, was chief of the supercargoes of that ship; and, though as such he had no privileged trade, he had his allowance of 13 tons space as commander; but it is not clear whether he had the privilege of taking out £1,000 in woollens and bringing home the proceeds in gold, which was granted to the commander in 1732 and 1733—there is no indication that he had. The quantity of tea to be carried by both supercargoes and officers was strictly limited to amounts from a half picul to one picul for each; and the total value of the chinaware in private trade was not to exceed £2,500.

Mr. John Scrivener was sent in the *Harrison* as one 'having

Judgment in Tea & Chinaware '. He did not hold the dignified position of the Chaszes of a later century : he had no share in the joint stock nor any indulgence beyond a privilege for £50 private trade. His opinion on tea was sometimes accepted by the supercargoes and sometimes not ; but on chinaware it was listened to with respect.

Both ships were ordered to seize any Ostenders they might meet, and ' if they resist, they are to be destroyed '. The same orders were given to the Dutch ships of that year.

The *Grafton* had encouraging news at Batavia—that ' several of the principal Merchants at Canton have left off Business and retired on acco[t] of the severities of the Manderines ' ; and that eight junks had come with tea from Amoy to Batavia that year. The ship arrived at Amoy on June 25, 1734.

As to our Reception in Generall but more particularly on our first Arrivall we mett with a great many Civilities & very large promises in generall Terms, nor was there any Priviledge but was readily granted, but withall, many Sollicitations and Arguments made use of for our going into the Inner Harbour ; a thing we thought no ways advisable to consent too untill had better Assurances of Success than bare Words, therefore allways insisted that the Priviledges we demanded should be incerted in the Chops granted by the severall Manderrines, of which you'll have more to Treat with at Amoy than at Canton.

The supercargoes went backward and forward between the Tituck and the Hoppo,[1] getting fair words from both, but little performance from the Hoppo, in whose hands their destinies lay. The first dispute was over the measurage. They were informed that a first-rate paid Tls. 3,500, a second-rate Tls. 3,000, a third-rate Tls. 2,500, inclusive of all extras. The ship was measured, 79 covids long and 22 broad, or 174 units, and declared to be a first-rate ; but this was by the Amoy covid, only 11¾ English

[1] The Tituck (Cantonese Tităk, Amoyese Totuk, Mandarin Titu) was no longer, as forty years earlier, the General commanding the garrison at Amoy. The Titu commanding the land forces of the Green Banner was now, and to the end of the Empire, stationed at Foochow. At Amoy was also a Titu commanding the naval forces charged with the defence of the coast and the repression of piracy.

The Hoppo was no longer, as forty years earlier, an Imperial officer commissioned from Peking. The superintendence of all the customs in Fukien had now, and to the end of the Empire, been granted to the Tsiangkün (Tartar-General) at Foochow ; and the Amoy custom-house was under the control of a Weiyuen (deputy) nominated by him.

inches,[1] whereas the Canton covid was $14\frac{1}{10}$ inches, and the supercargoes protested; the Hoppo ultimately agreed to accept Tls. 600; but by that time the supercargoes had decided to go to Canton.

The Hoppo declared that there would be no difficulty about the duties, since the supercargoes would be liable to none; but he would station an officer in the factory to secure them from molestation. This nullified the apparent freedom of trade, since thus their transactions could not be concealed from the Hoppo, who had ample power to exact further payment from the merchants. As the ship was about to weigh anchor, he offered to limit his surcharge to 20 per cent. of the duty payable by the Emperor's Book; but the supercargoes could discern no guarantee that this offer would be carried out in letter and spirit, and it made no change in their decision.

They were also required to land their guns, arms, and powder. This would deprive them of the power of leaving when they wished, and they refused to comply.

They came to an agreement, however, on weights. The picul was to be 133 lb., and the tael at 120 oz. (troy) to 103 taels, or 559·22 grains for the tael.

They found at Amoy several of the merchants who had been at Canton in the previous two or three years, but they were 'out of business' and reluctant to open up a trade at Amoy. The resident merchants had small stocks; required five to six months to fill their orders, instead of the three or four customary at Canton; and their prices were from 10 to 20 per cent. higher than of late at Canton. The Tituck, moreover, for all his benevolence, wished to restrict the supercargoes in their dealings to three merchants whom he designated.

The final decision was taken when the Hoppo produced, with a flourish of goodwill, the 'Grand Chop from the Chief Hoppo at Hockshew'. This contained an encomium on the virtue of hospitality to foreigners, and it recites that

> by a Decree of the Emperor and Grand Council published four years since, the Manderrines of Amoy are expressly forbid demanding the Seven ℘ Cent formerly paid them by all European Ships.

[1] This is presumably the Amoy ship-builders' ch'ih of 11·83 English inches.

But it did not contain any guarantee against the exactions which the supercargoes saw ahead of them ; they realized further that a ship could get a cargo at Amoy within the limits of one season only if notice were given beforehand of her coming ; and, although at the eleventh hour they were promised the granting of all their demands, they decided that they would do no good by remaining at Amoy, and sailed for Canton on August 25th, having lost two months at Amoy. They found at Whampoa the *Harrison*, one country ship the *Cowan* of 550 to 600 tons, one French ship (600 tons), one Dutch (450 tons), and one Danish (600 tons). These were all the foreign ships of that year.

The *Harrison* was apparently a slower sailer than the *Grafton*, and had arrived at Macao only on July 23rd. Mr. Wessell and his colleagues, it would appear, had given up all hope of obtaining any reduction in the 10 per cent. (which was actually a surtax of 16 per cent. *ad valorem*), and they resolved to concentrate their efforts on securing a remission of ' the 1,950 taels ' which were added to the measurage. To strengthen their arguments they left their ship anchored at Taipa Quebrada, and informed the Hoppo that they would not ' import ' her unless the 1,950 taels were remitted, but would take her elsewhere, as the *Grafton* had been taken to Amoy. Their linguist interpreted the Hoppo's answer as an acceptance of their demand, on condition that the ship was brought to Whampoa at once ; but, judging by their ' observation of the Hoppo's outward appearance & manner ', they recorded their suspicion that ' our Linguist has in some degree misrepresented his answer '.

The merchants afterwards in conference assured the supercargoes that it was not in the Hoppo's power to forgo the presents covered by the 1,950 taels ; and on succeeding days the Hoppo indicated clearly that any remission was out of the question. The supercargoes were now in a difficult position, as it was too late in the season to think of going elsewhere ; but they accepted, as a compromise, an offer by the merchants that, ' if we would import the Ship they would allow us such an equivalent for the 1,950 Tales as should be to our full satisfaction '. Seven days had been spent in these discussions, and the ship was now ordered up to Whampoa.

In making their contracts for woven silks, the greatest care

was taken; and higher prices were agreed to in order to ensure superior quality and finish. In all 7,700 pieces were ordered, to be delivered in 90–100 days, and to cost 41,110 taels.

The Court had ordered that all the fine green tea known as Hyson should be engrossed so that no other buyers should obtain any. The supercargoes approached Tinqua, who stated that, at a price, he could find 550 piculs for them, little by little; and at 45 taels a picul he contracted to sell to them and to no one else, and to forfeit 20 taels for each picul obtained by any other buyer. From other merchants Bohea was contracted for at 13 taels, Mr. Raper dissenting; and Congo at 21 taels.

The Court had also ordered the purchase of nankeens, hand-loom cotton cloth woven at Nanking, to be especially of the English width of one yard. For a piece of Canton-woven cloth, a yard wide, Tinqua quoted a price 50 per cent. higher than the Court's limit of price, and the quality was inferior. A trial order was given for 100 pieces from Nanking, 20 yards long at Tls. 3·50 a piece, to be delivered in 90 days; but the cloth was not received in time. The *Grafton* was also ordered to make the same inquiry at Amoy, but could not even contract.

Some woollens other than long ells had in the past three years been imported under the captain's privilege. The supercargoes were now informed that there was no genuine demand; and that those taken from the captains either were still in the merchants' hands, or had been given as presents to officials. The genuine demand for English goods (lead and long ells) was still only about 2 per cent. of the amount required for investment.

The trouble with the pillar dollars continued in the transactions for the *Harrison*:

> Aug. 22. . . . Mexico Dollars, which sort we chose to deliver him to prevent any disputes . . . as the Merch^ts yet scrupled to take new Pillar upon the terms of the Old.
>
> Dec. 17. Cannot agree with [the merchants] about y^e^ value of our new Pillar Dollers, which they now refuse at 95.
>
> Dec. 27. Allow us Gentlemen from y^e^ trouble we have experienced in y^e^ contrary course, to say we think it will be adviceable before you enter on business to settle y^e^ value of what new Pillar Dollers you bring hither, for we depended on paying away ours as in y^e^ former season at 95, which created us great disputes with y^e^ Merchants & we were at last obliged to take 94 for them.

The *Grafton* also had some difficulty; on five occasions note is made that pillar dollars were taken at 95, but one of the five was especially noted as 15,000 'Oald Piller Dollers'; and only at the end of their season is it noted:

> Dec. 25th. Setled all our Accounts, but having paid Leungqua more Piller Mony than the amount of Goods received of him, with very great difficulty got him to allow 1 upon 94 on the Mony paid for said Goods, but for the Ballance which was paid us in Gold, was obliged to reckon the Silver but at the Mexico Touch which difference amounted to Tls. 16·633.

There was also trouble about the weight in bulk, by the chest or bag.[1] The *Grafton* recorded:

> Dec. 19. Have great complaints from the Merchants in generall about the Weight of our Silver, particularly from Tonqua, who toald us, as he was to give us the Gold we wanted without any profitt to himself & purely to oblige us, it was no ways Reasonable he should be a looser. We weighed severall Bags & found them to come out short from 5 to 15 pennyweight ℔ Bag, particularly Chest No. 164 came out short 10 dwt. 6 gr. in an average.

This is only 0·06 per cent. shortage, but enough to cause trouble with transactions for which payment was made in units of unbroken chests.

The *Grafton* arrived at Whampoa on August 31st, and her arrival brought to a head the friction which had before existed among the *Harrison's* supercargoes. Those of the *Grafton* turned naturally to their colleagues of the *Harrison* for information on market conditions at Canton. Mr. Wessell took on himself to satisfy them; but for this he was reproved by the united voice of his juniors of the *Harrison*, who declared that they were in honour bound not to disclose two matters which were highly confidential. The bargain over the 1,950 taels was, they declared, one the mere communication of which must make it impossible to carry it into effect; and engrossing the Hyson tea was only possible if it could be carried out in all secrecy. Mr. Wessell accused his colleagues of excluding him from the Council; they countercharged him with having, by his unauthorized individual

[1] The bag, as a unit of packing and payment, contained 1,000 dollars, four to the chest of 4,000 dollars, which were invoiced at 290 lb. 8 oz. or 3,488 oz. troy, and valued in the invoice at £1,000. This makes the dollar 418·5 grains, which is heavier than it was in the nineteenth century.

action, excluded them; both parties supporting their charges by long and closely reasoned minutes.

In some vague way the question of compounding the 1,950 taels came before the supercargoes of the *Grafton*; and they voted unanimously against it, declaring that, if the merchants paid it, they must inevitably recover it in the price of their goods, and even that it might end in their paying the exaction twice over. The *Grafton* paid as a third-rate on 138·6 units at Tls. 5 per unit; but instead of Tls. 693, the amount actually paid was Tls. 663·371, plus the Tls. 1,950 of course. The supercargoes of the *Harrison* tried to pin the merchants down to their offer, but they refused to make a definite payment to refund this sum to the supercargoes,

> but desir'd us to be persuaded they would nevertheless do Handsomely by us & this the Merch^ts assured us was all & the last they would say upon this subject till we & the other ships had paid the Hoppo for they said they feared if they should give us that absolute promise we demanded it would be known to others & so they be oblidged to pay 1,950 Ta. for every Europe Ship at Canton which they neither could nor would submit to.

With this vague promise of doing handsomely by them the supercargoes had to be content; at the end of the season the merchants undertook to deliver four shoes of gold in settlement of their moral obligation, but the ship sailed without them, Mr. Wessell noting that he had not expected any other ending. In 1735, however, the four shoes were handed to Mr. Newnham on his arrival.

Coincident with this discussion came a dispute with the merchants over the woven silks ordered for the *Harrison*. The relatively high prices under the contracts had been explained on the one side as caused by the high market price for raw silk, 180 taels a picul, and accepted on the other under stringent conditions as to weight, colour, and quality. The supercargoes had distributed their orders among ten merchants, and had required from each

> a Contract signed by himself that if any dispute should hereafter arise we might produce it before the Mandarines & thereby do ourselves Justice.

When the first sample pieces came in, it was found, notwithstanding all the precision and care, that the silks were deficient

in weight and defective in colour and quality. The merchants appealed to their contracts as settling the price; the supercargoes were on less firm ground in challenging the debateable qualities of strength, colour, and lustre. The two parties could not agree, and the dispute dragged from September 1st to November 11th, when the supercargoes ordered their linguist to arrange for an audience of the Viceroy, who was then also acting temporarily as Hoppo. After three days of procrastination, the linguist refused to take any steps for an audience, or even to procure chairs. The supercargoes then went on foot, accompanied by Mr. Reid of the *Grafton*, who had learned some Chinese, and tried to force their way through the city gates; but they were persuaded by a military officer, probably the Hiehtai, to return to their factory, on his personal undertaking to procure them an audience the next day. There was an attempt to evade this undertaking the next day, November 15th, and numbers of the merchants, assembled at the city gate, tried to persuade them to go and present their grievance at the Hoppo's yamen; but the supercargoes persisted and were taken to the Viceroy's yamen. They did not see the Viceroy, but were allowed to explain their wishes to his Chungya (secretary), who gave them fair words but dismissed them, bidding them 'never trouble him again on such trifling occasions'. The report closed with these words:

> We have been y^e^ more particular in our recital of this affair that our Hon^ble^ Masters might see what situation their servants were in, when applying to y^e^ public Courts of Judicature of this country for redress of abuses in their trade.

Some pressure seems to have been applied to the merchants, for in the end, though grudgingly, they abated about one-fourth of the amounts which had been in dispute. This discussion also affected the *Grafton* indirectly; as late as November 15th,

> Could not prevail Tonqua to offer any price for our Callimancoes, the dispute that is risen between the Gentlemen of the *Harrison* and the Merchants about their Silks, has caused so great an uneasiness, that not one of the Merchants cares to talk of any Business till that Affair is settled.

With all these disputes the Company's supercargoes, even one of such a peculiar temperament as Mr. Wessell, were coming to

an appreciation of the good qualities of some at least among the merchants with whom they had dealings; or more among those merchants had acquired qualities which called for such appreciation. In Mr. Wessell's diary for the *Harrison*, signed by all four, we find such entries as the following:

Sept. 15. As to the sattins Tunqua desired to decline them & at last would not engage for their delivery in the time agreed for the other sorts, he said if he should he could not but esteem himself oblidged to a punctual Complyance & that might force him to make more haste than could consist with taking a due care in manufacturing these silks. This honest Dealing & our opinion of his ability induced us to consent that he should only be oblidged to deliver what he could get ready & on his part he agreed that whatever was then wanting should remain for his acco^{t}.

Oct. 17. . . . What further induced us to accept it [a lot of tea] was y^{e} honour with which Tinqua had used us in y^{e} other contracted Tea, in buying some parts of which himself, others bid so high against him, as obliged him to give more for them than we pay him, & we have been well informed that he has refused offers of higher terms than ours, strongly pressed on him for some of y^{e} parcel delivered us.

Dec. 27. Tunqua is said to be rich, but we don't think him y^{e} most capable of business.

Tinqua has with us acted very honourably . . . we have that good opinion of y^{e} man himself, that we believe should he be guilty of any ill thing it would not be from his bad principles but necessity.

Old Quinqua in what we have transacted with him has used us very well.

In making Silks Khoiqua has exceeded all y^{e} other Merchants . . . in this article we believe him to be very honest.

The merchant Tinqua had also been highly commended by Mr. Turner for his dealings in 1733.

The *Harrison* took in gold the quantity indulged to the supercargoes,[1] 2,820 taels weight of 93, bought at an average of Tls. 99·1 'Dollar money'; and 1,058 taels weight of 93 indulged to Captain Martin, bought at an average of Tls. 107·8. The last named had besides other goods quite filling his 13 tons space.

The *Grafton* carried 5,522 taels weight of gold, the greater part bought at an average of Tls. 103 dollar money, but about 28 per cent. of it at Tls. 103·5 sycee = Tls. 110 dollar money, the total cost being Tls. 57,977. The indulged gold was included

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 220.

in this joint stock. Captain Hudson had no separate gold; and in goods had fully 13 tons' space.

The combined investment of the *Harrison* and *Grafton* was as follows:

	Tls.
Tea, 4,427 piculs	88,536
Woven silks, 16,028 pieces	90,650
Tutenague, 1,600 piculs	10,200
Sago, 240 piculs	576
Chinaware, 240,000 pieces & 240 chests, estimated	9,000
Gold, 6,580 taels weight	97,329
	296,291

The other three European ships at Canton that year are reported to have taken a lading as follows:

French ship:	Tutenague	397 piculs.
	Chinaware	154 chests and 200 bundles.
	Tea	3,313 piculs.
	Raw silk	122 bales = 88 piculs.
	Wrought silks	3,375 pieces.
Danish ship:	Chinaware	248 chests.
	Tea	7,024 piculs.
	Wrought silks	3,488 pieces.
Dutch ship:	Tutenague	542 piculs.
	Chinaware	163 chests.
	Tea	4,681 piculs.
	Wrought silks	5,070 pieces.

XXII

TWO COUNCILS IN CONFLICT, 1735

For the season 1735 the Court dispatched from London two ships to Canton, the *London* and the *Richmond*, with Mr. Richard Newnham as Chief; and one ship to Amoy, the *Houghton*, with Mr. Edward Pratt as Chief. In case the last should ultimately go to Canton, it was ordered in the instructions to the *London* and the *Richmond* that the supercargoes of all three ships should form one Council, with Mr. Newnham as Chief, Mr. Pratt as Second, and so on; but in the *Houghton's* instructions it was only ordered that the two should consult together. The remuneration was again in four kinds, with commission on the net proceeds of the Company's sales in London, as follows:

	Commission per cent.	*Allowance.*	*Indulged Gold.*	*Private Trade.*
London:	£ s. d.	£	£	£
Mr. R. Newnham .	2 5 0	1,500	3,000	150
Mr. R. Moreton .	1 15 0	1,250	2,500	100
Mr. W. Lane . .	1 5 0	750	1,500	75
Richmond:				
Mr. I. Houssaye .	2 10 0	1,000	2,500	100
Mr. E. Page . .	2 10 0	1,000	2,500	100
Houghton:				
Mr. E. Pratt . .	2 5 0	1,500	3,000	150
Mr. T. Liell . .	1 15 0	1,000	2,500	100
Mr. R. Martin . .	1 0 0	750	1,500	75

It is to be noted that the allowances to Mr. Newnham and Mr. Pratt were identical. The *Richmond* was to load for Bombay and to return to Canton in 1736; and her supercargoes were apparently of equal value. Each of the captains, in addition to indulged gold to the value of £3,000, had 13 tons' space for private trade.

The three ships were wind-bound in the Downs from December 24, 1734, to January 20th, when the *Richmond* sailed; the *London* and the *Houghton* sailed on the 23rd, but lost sight of each other the same evening; and the three did not reunite

until May 23rd, when they passed through the Straits of Sunda together. At Batavia they found no letters from the supercargoes of the previous year; Mr. Pratt learned that the *Grafton* had gone to Canton, but received conflicting reports of her treatment at Amoy. He then asked for a consultation with Mr. Newnham and his colleagues to obtain their 'advice and opinion' on the question whether the *Houghton* should go to Amoy. At the consultation Mr. Newnham demanded that Mr. Pratt should present his case in writing; Mr. Pratt refused; whereupon Mr. Newnham and his colleagues declined to express an opinion.

Mr. Pratt found that Captain Worth's instructions directed him to proceed to Amoy in the first instance, and by a strange oversight did not provide for his taking the *Houghton* to Canton until he should receive an order to that effect from the supercargoes at Amoy. They ordered him then to proceed to Macao on the way to Amoy, in the hope of finding letters there from the *Grafton's* supercargoes.

The *Houghton* arrived first at Macao, and spent five days at Taipa Quebrada, her supercargoes receiving some information on Amoy conditions, useful but not very encouraging, from the French agent, Mr. Roate (*sic*), and from Mr. Le Mettré, 'a Free Merchant who had lived hereabouts some years'; but they could obtain no advices from the *Grafton*. The *London* and the *Richmond* had been delayed by bad weather, in which a Dutch ship, the *Den Dam*, had foundered, another Dutch ship, the *Abblessaad Dam*, had been completely dismasted, and a third, supposed to have been the *Carlo*, an English country ship, from Bombay, had been wrecked on the Ladrones. The *London* and the *Richmond* arrived uninjured at Taipa Quebrada, as the *Houghton* was sailing out for Amoy.

The *Houghton's* experience at Amoy was a repetition of the *Grafton's*. Her reception by the officials was even better, the Tow Yaw [1] and the Tituck vying with each other in their cordiality. The Tow Yaw in particular 'agreed very readily' to the supercargoes' demand for privileges, formulated in twenty articles, granting every right and prohibiting every exaction; and he promised explicitly that measurage, duties, and charges

[1] Presumably Tao-yeh, Taotai; possibly Ta-yeh, His Honour.

should all be lower than at Canton. But the Hoppo, who was a deputy of the Tartar-General at Foochow, was a stumbling-block—

On talking with the Hoppo about the Measurage found his Demand to be near half as much more as at Canton ;

but even he held out a vague hope that he would adjust matters in the measuring.

When they came to trading, the supercargoes found the position hopeless. There were no merchants of standing and no stocks in Amoy ; samples might be sent for from Chinchu (Chüanchow), but even there the stocks were not large ; buyers must be sent to distant places, taking five to six months for delivery ; and not less than four-fifths of the cost must be advanced. Even such goods as were offered were at prices from 10 to 30 per cent. higher than at Canton ; and

we have since been informed the Merchants was not shure of procuring good Goods within the time, and that they were forced on the proposall by the Manderines ; likewise that there is a Chop out by order of the Fowein [Fuyuen, Governor] to oblidge us to pay the same Dutys as at Canton.

On August 30th they received a letter from Mr. Newnham, informing them that he had

met with pretty Civill treatment from the Government since our being here [Canton] but have not been able to do anything in relation to the 10 ℘ Cent,

and that the market was well supplied, with few ships to load. Mr. Pratt also had confirmation of the report that the duties at Amoy were assimilated to those at Canton ; and the *Houghton* sailed on September 7th, arriving at Whampoa on the 20th.

The *London* and the *Richmond* arrived at Whampoa on July 20th. The Hoppo had died three months before, and his office was administered by the Foyeen [Fuyuen, Governor], aided by the incumbent second Hoppo ; and on the subject of the impositions, the 10 per cent. and the 1,950 taels, the latter informed them that

if we had a mind to speak of them to the Foyeen (who is now Chief Hoppo) we might, but that he should not dare to open his Mouth about it.

The merchants also allowed them to entertain no hope.

They seem entirely of opinion that it will be Impossible to get it [the 10 ℘ Cent.] off, being now collected by a positive order from the Emperour and paid into his Treasury, and for the 1,950 Tales presents, tho' they were obliged to give some hopes to the Gentlemen last year that they would endeavour to get it abated this, yet they then knew it would be as Impossible to be got off as the other.

At their interview with the Hoppo the supercargoes obtained a grant of

all the privileges usual, as the Flag in our Pinnaces, to be under no Constraint of dealing with any particular Merchants, the Choice of our Linguist, and that our Compradore should not pay anything for his place.

They brought up the matter of the ' 10 ℘ Cent lately imposed ', alleging that its imposition was the reason why the Company had sent some of its ships to Amoy, and intimating that Canton might be abandoned if the tax was maintained. The Hoppo replied that

it was an affair he could not by any means undertake to meddle with, that he found it settled when he came into his office and supported by an order of the Emperour, so that he could not allow it to be called a new thing ; neither could he make any alteration in it, but that in all other things he would endeavour to make us easy.

The Court had this year also ordered the supercargoes to engross all the Hyson tea obtainable, and they debated whether to commission one agent to buy it for them, or to wait until it came to market, and decided to employ an agent. After considering the merits and capability of each of the merchants, they voted unanimously for Suqua.

To Suqua, the chief objection we have against him is his former Treatment of our Honble Masters by which they have been sufferers, and for which reason we should be induced to have no manner of dealings with him if any other person could be found equally capable, but as there are none such, and we being apprehensive should we employ any other person in this affair, He [Suqua] would in a great measure Frustrate our Intentions, & perhaps endeavour to Engross all that article for the French Ship which is daily expected, we do think it for our Honble Masters Interest to employ him on this occasion and hope he will exert himself to retrieve his Character.

A contract was accordingly made with Suqua for all the Hyson obtainable, the price being agreed at Tls. 45·50 a picul. A contract was also made for 6,650 pieces of woven silks for a total of 44,716 taels. By a majority vote half the quantity was allotted to Suqua and a quarter each to Leonqua and Young Hungqua, Messrs. Houssaye and Page dissenting on the ground that the latter two should be encouraged to compete with Suqua. The same three merchants were also coerced, against their wish, to take in equal proportions the stock of lead and woollens of the two ships.

As the *Richmond*, loading for Bombay, should receive earlier dispatch, it was resolved to complete her investment in gold before beginning to buy for the *London*. By October 1st 489 taels weight had been bought at prices from 103 to 107 sycee; then the *Houghton* began to compete and later purchases, 1,766 taels weight, were made at 106–110·5 sycee; the total of 2,255 taels costing 25,745 taels dollar silver. After the *Richmond's* departure 3,640 taels weight were bought for the *London* at an average price of 105 sycee = 112 dollar silver, at a total cost of 40,768 taels.

On the arrival of the *Houghton* on September 20th, Mr. Newnham and his colleagues proposed that all the supercargoes should form one Council; but Mr. Pratt and his colleagues considered that their instructions did not warrant their interference in the concerns of the *London* and the *Richmond*, or Mr. Newnham's interference in those of the *Houghton*. Mr. Pratt, &c., offered to consult and co-operate, but refused to combine to form one Council; and they declared categorically that they intended to bid for any gold, tea, or other commodity that they wished. One episode illustrates the nature of the relations between the two competing Councils of the same Company.

Mr. Pratt came to our house and inform'd us from the Gentlemen of the *Houghton* that they had been treating with some of the Merchants for 700 peculs of Tea and offer'd us a part thereof if we thought proper. We desired to go and see the Teas, and that he would let us know the prices of them, before we could accept any offer of that kind, but that not being complied with, we desired Mr. Pratt (He demanding an Imediate Answer) to withdraw a little, & after consulting, we agreed that we would not accept any part of the Teas they were treating

about, as they would not let us know the prices nor ꝑmit us to see the Teas without agreeing to take a part beforehand, which we think we cannot answer consenting to.

On another occasion Mr. Pratt tried to induce Suqua to let him have some of his Hyson, which Suqua was under contract to engross for Mr. Newnham ; and then demanded from Mr. Newnham a part of his contract, which was refused.

Mr. Pratt threatened to protest against us, and said he would go directly and bid upon us to raise the prices, to which we replyed, we thought he would do very wrong, but gave him our words, that whatever he did in prejudice of us, we would upon no account bid against him to the detriment of our Honourable Employers.

The strong individuality of the Company's supercargoes made them a troublesome team to drive in double harness ; and in 1738 we shall find the Court creating two Councils for the five ships of that year, with Mr. Page and Mr. Plant as the two chiefs.

Silver was brought up clandestinely from all the ships to a greater extent than before. In this season there is no record of any silver coin commanding a premium over 94.

Mr. Newnham and Mr. Houssaye had been appointed ' Commissioners by His Majesty's Court of Exchequer in England to examine witnesses in China, upon several Interrogatories, in a Cause depending between the United East India Company and Mr. Naish and others '. Mr. Thomas Olivant had been sent as law agent for the Company, and Mr. Butler for Mr. Naish. The Commissioners now reported in Council that

they have since their arrival here used their utmost Endeavours to procure the several Merchants named in the said Interrogatorys, and others, to be examin'd as Witnesses in the said Cause, notwithstanding which only two thereof have been examined, one of which has since flown off, and the said Comissioners having reason to believe that several others are deterr'd from giving their Testimony in the said Cause, and Whereas the said Comissioners have no Power to oblige the Chineese to attend and be examin'd thereon, and that as the Court of Directors of the said Company have wrote a Letter under their Flying Seal relating to said affair to be deliver'd to the Chuntuck, Foyeen or Hoppo, as we shall think most proper. They the said Messrs. Newnham & Houssaye do propose to this Board and give it as their opinions, that as it is the only means left to oblige the Chineese to attend and be examin'd on said Comission, it is our Duty to present said Letter to the Foyeen with all possible expedition.

This was on October 17th. The next day the proposal was agreed to in Council. On the 25th it was proposed to the supercargoes of the *Houghton* that all eight of the Company's agents then in Canton should go in a body and present to the Governor the letter relating to the Company's affairs; Mr. Liell and Mr. Martyn 'readily consented to go with us', but Mr. Pratt 'said that as he had nothing in his orders relating thereto, he did not care to meddle one way or other'. There is no later reference to the Naish commission, and it is not certain if the letter was presented, or if any witnesses were examined.

From the Dutch ship *Den Dam*, which was a total loss, there were eleven survivors—the captain, two mates, two supercargoes, and six sailors—and 1,220 taels of silver had been salved.

The Dutch sailors at Canton would oblige the Captain and Supracargoe to divide the money among them, which they not daring to comply with, They mutiny'd & threaten'd them to the hazard of their Lives, whereupon they wrote us (the English) a Letter and begg'd us to suppress them, for fear any murther committed might embarrass all European affairs here, the Merchants went to the Mandareens about it, and returning told us they desired we would take them into Custody for the prevention of mischief, upon which we secured them (six in all) and sent them on board our ships, to be put on board the Dutch Ship when she shall arrive at Wampo.

The principle of extra-territoriality thus suggested, came near to being put to the test of actuality only two weeks later.

Aug. 13. Captain Gough's Yaul [of ship *Richmond*] came up this morning early with a Letter to him of the Accident which hapned last night at his Banksall at Wampo. The Hoppo boat which attends his Ship going about 8 o'clock at night for shelter from the weather (it blowing very Fresh) into the Creek behind the Banksall the people there call'd to them two or three times, and not answering, they fired into the Boat and shott a Woman, who was in the Stern, into the Arm. The Ball was taken out by the Surgeon's Mate of the *London*. News of it is brought to the Hoppo, and the Merchants are sent for. What Consequence this Unlucky Accident may have, we can't yet pretend to say.

Aug. 21. The Accident of shooting the Woman in the Arm by Capt. Gough's people at the Banksall at Wampo has been hitherto much easier than we expected. The Doctor has almost made a Cure, and as it is accounted accidental, we hope we shall have no trouble about it.

There is no further note on the subject, and it may be assumed that the case was accepted by the Chinese as an accident.

The *Richmond* was dispatched for Bombay on November 3rd. The *London* and the *Houghton* left for London in company on January 28th. The private trade of Captain Bootle of the *London*, outside his indulged gold in joint stock with the Company to the value of Tls. 9,575, was as follows :

	Tls.
Tea, 7,730 lb.	3,081
Chinaware	1,114
Other goods	1,741
Gold, separate venture	2,703
	8,639

For the first time the supercargoes were unable to sell their scales and weights, even at a greatly reduced price, and those of both the *London* and the *Houghton* were left behind with Young Hunqua, ' who has promised to dispose of them if he can possibly and to pay what he sells them for, to the Supercargoes of the *Richmond* on their return to Canton '. They were as follows :

1 large pair of Triangles.
1 pair of Beams, boards, and ropes.
15 Weights, ½ cwt. to 1 lb.
3 Boxes Money Scales and Weights.
1 small pair of Triangles.
1 Beam and pair of copper Scales and chains.
13 Weights, 50 lb. to 1 lb. Troy.
1 set of China Weights.

The *Richmond* was dispatched to Bombay, disposing of her gold at Anjengo, and her goods at Bombay and at Surat. She took on board, for Canton, cotton, olibanum, myrrh, and putchuck at Bombay, and pepper and sandalwood at Tellicherri ; and at Bombay silver was supplied sufficient to make her stock up to £40,000.

Tellicherri, April 24, 1736.

Having taken on board the quantity of Sandal Wood and Pepper ordered by the Gov^r and Council of Bombay to compleat our Loading, To wit 200 Candys of the former and 716 of the latter, and the same amounting, with the Goods put on board at Bombay, to above 320,000 rupees which the Gov^r and Council design for our Stock, The Chief &ca and we gave Capt. Gough an order to send ashore five chests of pillar

Dollars, and we paid the overplus to the Chief &ca being Rupees, 36,869. Our Account Curr^{t} is as follows.

Ship *Richmond*	Dr. Rupees
To the Amo^{t} of an Invoice of Pepper and Sandal Wood laden at Tellicherry	69,826
To the Amo^{t} of an Invoice of Goods & Treasure laden at Bombay by the Honble the President and Council	287,043
	356,869
℔ Contra	Cr.
By what the Honble the President & Council of B'bay Direct us to allow for a quick Stock to China £40,000 computed at 8 rupees ℔ £	320,000
By Pillar Dollars delivered to Stephen Law Esq^{r} Chief &ca Factors at Tellicherry oz. 15088·8 or Mallabar Dollars of 89 oz. 11 dwt. 9 gr. ℔ 100 Dollars is Doll^{r} w^{t} 16,847·32 at Rs. 244. 1. 39 ℔ 100 oz. is rupees	36,869
Errors Excepted	356,869

The outturn of the *Richmond's* cargo at Canton was as follows :

			Tls.
Cotton	605 piculs at	8·50	5,143
Putchuck	67 ,, ,,	34	2,278
Myrrh	112 ,, ,,	24	2,688
Olibanum	205 ,, ,,	10·50	2,152
Sandalwood	859 ,, ,,	12·80	10,995
Pepper	3,155 ,, ,,	10·50	33,128
			56,384

A gross profit of 47 per cent. was realized.

TARIFF OF THE EMPEROR'S DUTIES AT AMOY, 1735.

10 Taels = 120 oz. Troy.

	T.	m.	c.	c.	
Broadcloth	–	–	3	–	℔ Covitt of 11·7 Eng. inches.
Perpetuanoes	–	–	1	5	,,
Camblets	–	–	3	–	,,
Damask & Satin	–	–	8	–	,,
Gorgoroons & Taffetas	–	2	–	–	,,
Handkerchiefs	–	–	6	–	,,
Pelongs	–	–	3	–	,,
Raw silk	1	2	–	–	℔ Picul, 3 ℔ Ct. tare.
Quicksilver	1	2	–	–	,, actual tare.
Chinaware	–	2	5	–	,, 7 ℔ Ct. tare.
Tea, 1st sort	–	6	–	–	,,
,, 2nd ,,	–	3	–	–	,,
,, 3rd ,,	–	1	–	–	,,
Tutenague & Lead	–	2	5	–	,,
Sago	–	2	5	–	,,
Nankeen cloth	–	–	–	6	℔ Covitt.

The Hoppo to have 20 ℔ Ct. with 6 ℔ Ct. to make sycee; the above likewise paid in sycee.

XXIII

THE *NORMANTON* AT NINGPO, 1736

For the season 1736 the *Richmond* returned to Canton from Bombay, and the Court dispatched from London two ships, the *Walpole* and the *Princess of Wales*, to Canton, and one ship, the *Normanton*, to Limpo (Ningpo). There were this year three Councils at Canton: Mr. Houssaye and Mr. Page for the *Richmond*; Mr. Thomas ffytche as Chief and four others for the *Walpole* and the *Princess of Wales*; and Mr. Andrew Reid and two others (one the captain) for the *Normanton* when she came there from Ningpo. For the last two Councils there was no indulged gold; their reward was in three kinds, commission being based on net proceeds of sales in London; the total commission was 5 per cent. for each ship, and the allowance gave an additional 12½ per cent. of the stock, or about 25 per cent. on the proceeds in London.

	Commission per cent.			*Allowance.*	*Private Trade.*
Normanton:	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	£
Mr. A. Reid . . .	2	0	0	2,000	150
Capt. C. Rigby . . .	2	0	0	2,000	—
Mr. F. Pigou . . .	1	0	0	1,000	75
Walpole and *Princess of Wales*:					
Mr. T. ffytche . . .	1	10	0	3,000	150
Mr. E. Wilson . . .	1	5	0	2,500	100
Mr. H. Plant . . .	1	0	0	2,000	100
Mr. T. Shore . . .		15	0	1,500	75
Mr. J. Hodgson . .		10	0	1,000	75

The *Normanton* arrived at Batavia on June 7, 1736, and found there two junks from Ningpo, from which Mr. Reid obtained the information that Ningpo was

> a Port of great Riches & Trade, as well as very conveniently Situated for our purpose, tho' they differ widely in their Opinions concerning the Reception and Success we may expect there, which, depending wholly upon the Pleasure of the Mandarins, can be determined only by Experience.

Mr. Reid had some, probably very small, knowledge of the Chinese language,[1] and at Batavia he took pains to engage

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 227.

a Chinese as linguist, paying him 100 rix-dollars in hand, 'besides a further reward in case we succeed'. He also engaged a Chinese pilot who offered his services for 200 rix-dollars, half in advance; he professed to be 'well acquainted with the Passages to Ningpo, particularly promising to carry the Ship in a Spring Tide over the Bar quite up to the City'.

The *Normanton* left Batavia on June 24th, and on July 25th anchored in a safe place four or five leagues short of Kitow Point. Leaving the ship there, the supercargoes took the pinnace and longboat, 'both well manned and arm'd for our greater Security'; and

in our way up we kept the Channel for large Junks and Ships, which in many places is extremely narrow, with strong Currents and Eddies; when we came to the Bar, to our great Concern & Surprise, after the repeated Assurances so lately given us to the contrary by different People who might be suppos'd proper Judges, we found so little Water upon it in a Spring Tide too, that none but very small Vessels can Pass.

The *Normanton*, of 490 tons burthen, was then light, having on board her kentledge (about 35 tons), with 100 tons of lead and 5 bales (100 pieces) of long ells for trade; but when fully laden she would draw not less than 17 ft., and the Admiralty chart shows a depth of 1 fathom on the bar of the River Yung, with a rise of 11 ft. at spring tides.

Arriving at Tching-haij-quaen (Chinhai-hien), they were required by the commandant to land and remain overnight. The next day, July 27th, they went the 10 miles up river to Ningpo. There they were compelled to wait in their boats,

where for several Hours we suffer'd not a little from y^e^ Excessive heat of the Weather, and the more troublesome Curiosity of infinite Swarms of People who crouded to see us,

until at length they were summoned to an audience with the Titu.

We immediately waited upon him & were Receiv'd with extraordinary Pomp & Grandeur, but very little Respect or Civility; for he refused us the Privilidge of sitting in his Presence, tho' he promis'd it before we would enter; adding withall, that if our Sovereign were there he must Stand as well as we.

The Titu informed them that their business depended entirely on the Taye (Tao-yeh, Taotai), and on him they called the next day.

This morning being appointed for our Audience of the Taye, we refused to appear before him unless he would allow us Chairs; we

thought it absolutely Necessary for the Honour and Interest of our Mastors to insist upon this Mark of Distinction; foreseeing that if once we submitted to be treated with as little Ceremony as the Mandarins use towards the Merchants of their own Country, whom they place in a very low and contemptible Rank; neither we nor those who may follow us would ever be able to Recover such a Step, but probably as Foreigners be sunk still lower, & what is far worse, we should thereby in a great measure give up that right which we claim, of making our own Terms with the Mandarins, & of contesting with them any new or unjust Impositions with which they may endeavour to load our Commerce.

The supercargoes had now to deal with a body of officials who had had no commercial relations with Europeans, and they formed a correct judgment of their situation. The Taotai 'at last with some difficulty' conceded the chairs,

but to lessen the Honour done us as much as possible, he seated his own Linguist & ours directly over against us.

The supercargoes expressed their hope of securing favourable conditions for their trade at Ningpo; and the Taotai declared himself to be well pleased with their proposals, and promised them immunity from such exactions as had formerly been imposed on the ships at Chusan. He asked particulars of their stock, and of their requirements for a lading,

for that he would immediately send to Soutcheou [Soochow] for Merchants, who would take off the one & provide the other, which he would send down to us at Chusan, as soon as it was ready.

This kind offer opened a vista which was not agreeable to the supercargoes. They had no intention of going to Chusan—in fact their instructions from the Court explicitly forbade it—and they did intend that all merchants should have free access to them, and that none should be imposed on them; and they produced a schedule of conditions in twenty-one articles, to which they asked him to agree.

In the afternoon they had a second audience, at which it was necessary for them to assert themselves, in order to correct the indignity with which they were received. The Taotai informed them that there was not enough water for their ship to cross the bar, and that, in any case, access to Ningpo was prohibited by the Emperor; and that they must therefore go to Chusan.

This they rejected, and asked permission to remain in an anchorage nearer to Ningpo; which the Taotai met by assuring them that they would be well treated at Chusan. The other articles were objected to more or less, until they came to

the Article Relating to the delivery of our Sails, Rudder, Guns, Powder & other Arms & Ammunition; this produced a warm Dispute, the Taye insisted with much heat that we must give up our Arms, if we intended to Trade, while we positively declared that we could not part with them on any Account; when we desired to know his Reasons for this Demand, he had nothing to urge in Support of it but former Custom & the Will of the Mandarins, yet he seemed to think it very Strange that we were not Satisfied, often asking why we came thither, if we would not comply with the Custom of the Country, nor Submit to the Orders of the Government.

They used many arguments, but

we could not perceive that what we said made the least Impression upon the Taye; his Answer rather shew'd that he was not to be work'd upon by Reason, for he again appealed to Custom, often repeating it as a decisive Maxim, that Custom was Custom.

The views of the two parties were, in fact, irreconcilable on this point. European merchant ships in that day went well armed,[1] prepared at all times to defend themselves against national enemies or against pirates; a nation friendly when they left the Downs, might be an enemy when they traversed the Atlantic sixteen months later; and piracy was prevalent and constant all the way from the Channel around the Cape of Good Hope, across the Indian Ocean, through the China Sea, to the very entrance of the ports of China. Both the *Compton* in 1732 and the *Richmond* in 1735 waited some days at Tellicherri, and again at Bombay, to sail in company with other ships past the stronghold of Angria, the noted freebooter. From their point of view it was quite impossible for the supercargoes to disarm their ship and expose her defenceless to the attack of an enemy or of pirates; and it was equally out of the question that her sails and rudder should be sent on shore, and so make it impossible for them to leave if the exactions became intolerable.

Just for such reasons, the Taotai must insist on the requirement. That the supercargoes should refuse to comply was

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 212.

enough to arouse his suspicions: they might wish to use their armament to commit an act of piracy, as had been done in 1716 by the *Anne* at Amoy;[1] they might even resist the lawful authority of the officials; if they had their sails, they might run away leaving unpaid debts and duties behind; and in all events it was highly suspicious that they should not at once have assented to the direct orders of him, the Taotai, on whom rested the responsibility for the civil administration.

Agreement on the point did not seem possible, but the Taotai showed some curiosity on the amount of money with which they proposed to trade:

finding we must unavoidably, & judging we might safely gratify him in some Measure, we complied with his desire, concealing only about one third Part of our Treasure; for we thought it would be very imprudent to acquaint him with the whole; he seem'd exceeding surprized and disappointed with the smallness of our Stock, so that his Countenance visibly fell upon it.

Through the customary channels they were later given to understand that the Taotai would be inflexible in resisting their demand for privileges, for the

very Remarkable Reason, Viz[t] because our Stock was so small that the Taye could not get above three or four thousand Tales by us, which he did not think worth his while.

The next day at another interview

we found him as obstinate as ever in demanding our Arms, & thereupon Repeated to him that we could by no means part with them, whatever were the Consequence, our Orders being express to the Contrary, to which he Returned this short but decisive Answer, that since it was so, we might depart, as soon as we pleased, for he should hearken to no proposalls of Trade, unless we carried our Ship into Chusan, & there delivered up all our Arms great & small;

upon which the supercargoes asked for a permit to sail away. The Taotai then forbade them to leave: he had written to the Governor[2] on the subject of the arms, and they must wait until his reply came from Hangchow. They waited accordingly.

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 150.

[2] The Governor (Fuyuen) of Chekiang was at Hangchow. The record refers to him as Tsongtou, but the Viceroy of Min-Che (Fukien and Chekiang) was at Foochow.

Four days later, on August 3rd, they again asked the Taotai for his decision, and

were told by him in one Word, that we must import our Ship into Chusan Harbour, there deliver up all our Arms and in everything else submit to his Orders, or he would allow us no Trade here.

He hinted, however, that they might come to some arrangement about the arms with the Tsungping at Chusan. When the supercargoes declared that, if their charter of privileges was not granted in full,

we must lay aside all Thoughts of this Port, & return as fast as we could to Canton, where we were already in possession of them, he answered we might go when we would.

On August 6th, being still detained at Ningpo, they were surprised to receive a visit from an 'inferior Mandarin', an emissary from the Tsungping of Chusan, who came

to adjust if possible the Difference between us & the Taye . . . he desired a Copy of our Memorial, which we gave him; he read it over in our Presence & objected to nothing Material, except our claiming a Right to punish our own People, at last we compounded that matter by consenting that if an European killed a Chinese, unless it were in his own Defence, he should be tried by the Mandarins according to the Laws of China, but that they should not Interpose in any Affair whatever, where Europeans only were concerned.

The Taotai persisted in his demand that they should go to Chusan and settle there the question of disarming, and he was non-committal about the other articles of their memorial.

Taking into serious Consideration the Tayes trifling & inconsistent Conduct, his Refusing absolutely to comply with the Reasonable Terms demanded by us, but requiring on the Contrary an implicit Submission to his Orders; particularly his insisting inflexibly to Demand our Arms, which we cannot deliver, without a Direct Breach of the 17'th Article of our Instructions, nor without betraying the Ship & Cargo entrusted to our Care into the Hands of the Chinese, so as to leave ourselves wholly without Remedy or Defence against the Abuses of the Merchants & the Injustice of the Mandarins; we agreed in Consultation that it was contrary to the Intentions & Interest of our Hon^{ble} Constituents to accept of Trade at this Port upon so precarious a footing, & therefore, having already done everything in our Power towards obtaining such Conditions as could with Prudence be submitted to, but without any Effect, or even Probability of Success, we

resolv'd unanimously to leave Ningpo tomorrow, & go on Board our Ship, there to wait either more favourable Resolutions from the Mandarins, or a fair wind for Canton.

After they had been on their ship three days a messenger came from Chusan to communicate to them the copy of a dispatch from the Governor of Chekiang, in which

he orders that the ship pay neither Anchorage nor Measurage, that the Mandarins receive no Presents, they exact no more upon any Goods imported or exported by her than the regular Duties, paid the Emperour by his own Subjects. . . . He also orders the Ship to go into Chusan Harbour, & there to put ashore her Arms of all Sorts; if we meet with Injustice or unfair Dealings in Trade, he threatens the Offenders with the Severest Punishments; grants Liberty to Deal with whom we please; strictly forbids the Mandarins to Trade, or interpose in anything relating to Trade . . . & that the Ship be not detained after she is laden.

Much of this was common form, compatible with even the grossest methods of exaction; but the supercargoes could not be expected to know this, and

as the Mandarins seem'd to have alter'd their Minds, we began also to change ours & to flatter ourselves with new Hopes of Success.

On cross-questioning the messenger, however, they learned that the merchants at Chusan had no stocks; that they would need at least five months to complete their contracts, thereby losing them their passage that season; and that

he had orders to tell us that we must advance the full Value of the Goods contracted for into the Hands of the Two Tayes of Ningpo & Chusan, who would thereupon become Sureties for the Merchants honest & punctual Performance of his Contract.

The supercargoes knew little of China, but they at least knew the danger of paying their money into the hands of the officials; and their instructions included a prohibition of advances for tea and a caution against excessive advances for other produce; and, the wind being fair, they ordered the ship to Canton.

Three days later, on August 15th, they were forced back to their anchorage by adverse winds. One messenger after another came to urge them to visit Chusan, and thither they went in the pinnace. The Tsungping informed them that he could not avoid

insisting on landing their armament; and he disavowed the Governor's dispatch:

> that we were deceived, for that the Messenger had no Orders to give us any such Hopes, & in short that what we proposed could not be done; that we need not be so much afraid in trusting the Mandarins, who were now all good & honest men.

The supercargoes declared straightly that no English ship would ever trade at Chusan or elsewhere 'upon such Conditions as the Mandarins prescribed to us'; and, after an equally inconclusive visit to the Hien, the civil magistrate, they returned to their ship and sailed away to Canton, arriving there on September 8th.

XXIV

THE EMPEROR'S ACT OF GRACE, 1736

During this season of 1736 there were trading at Canton :

4 ships of the Company for London,
1 English country ship from Bengal,
2 Dutch ships for Holland,
2 French ships for France,
1 French ship for Pondicherri,
1 Danish ship (700 tons) for Copenhagen,
1 Swedish ship for Gothenburg.

A total of 12 ships, of which 10 were Company ships of five nationalities. The Swedish ship, the *Dre Krone*, was identified as being that known in 1730 as the *Apollo*, an Ostender masquerading as Prussian.[1]

The supercargoes had generally the habit of making their principal contracts with some one merchant, or with two or three, but there has not previously been any mention of the 'Security Merchant', an institution which became of so much importance in the trade later. He is casually referred to in the records of this year.

Dec. 4. The several Supracargoes of the English, French, Dutch & Dane's Ships met this afternoon and agreed to desire the China Merchants that are security for their respective Ships, to go tomorrow to the Hoppo's. . . .

Jan'y 6. . . . that we must pay the presents now as last Year— Accordingly we credited Honqua and Tucksia (the Merchants that are Security for our Ship) as usual, they having made it good to the Hoppo it seems sometime before.

The year 1736 was especially noteworthy as the year of accession to the throne of the Emperor known as Kienlung. The new ruler, then in his twenty-fifth year, 'was a man of great natural abilities, a scholar, and of a strong decided purpose that made him just the man to meet the difficulties which were

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 199.

threatening to assume large proportions in Central Asia'.[1] In his old age he was sufficiently large-minded to receive Lord Macartney without any of those marks of personal humiliation which were required from other tribute-bearing envoys of vassal states; and now, in his impetuous youth, he was a sovereign who might naturally make a sudden, just, and revolutionary decision without waiting to receive the counsel of the bureaucracy charged with the actual administration of the provinces; but when the irresistible force of the Imperial autocrat met the immovable mass of an experienced bureaucracy, the force ceased to be irresistible and failed to accomplish its purpose.

The French Company had the practice of leaving one factor behind at Macao or Canton every year. On July 31st

> Mons[r] Ray who staid here in Canton all the last Year acquainted us that the present Emperour had soon after his Accession to the Throne taken off all the Extraordinary Dutys laid on by his Father, and order'd that no more Dutys sho'd be paid on the Imports and Exports than was in the time of his Grandfather Khonghy; but no mention being made of the Europeans, the Hoppo and other Officers fearing they (the Europeans) might think themselves included in the said Act of Benevolence, represented to Court that the Dutys paid here by them were very considerable and should they be taken off it would greatly lessen the revenue of the Customs at this Port, that it was no Burthen to his subjects & that the Europeans might very well afford to pay them. On which representations a Chop or Order was sent down that the Europeans should pay the same Dutys as usual. Mr. Devulaire the French Chief being informed of this on his arrival, found means to get a Chinese Letter delivered to the Chuntuck and the person he employed informed him that the Chuntuck seemed inclined to serve the Europeans, and therefore advised him to get a Petition signed by the Chief person of every Ship representing our Grievances for his better understanding the nature of the thing, and the said Chineese promised to take care it should be delivered to him.

The Viceroy was then on the point of departure for Peking to do homage to the Emperor; and for such a mission he would require more than his ordinary provision of ready money, since his retention or promotion in office would depend upon the magnitude of his presents to the Emperor and to the officials of his Court. The English supercargoes seem to have had no

[1] J. Macgowan, *The Imperial History of China*, Shanghai, 1906, p. 545.

premonition that they were pecuniarily interested in this mission until later. The petition was drafted, drawing attention to the unjust imposition of 16 per cent. *ad valorem* on merchandise, and of 1,950 taels as presents added to the measurage; and it was signed on August 11th by the English, French, and Dutch supercargoes then at Canton. On November 30th

by the publick Prints from Pekin the Merchants understand that the Emperour, upon the Chuntuck's representation, has been pleased to declare that the 10 ℘ Ct. (which has been paid for some years past on all Goods exported by the Europeans from Canton) shall not be collected for the future, nor the present of 1,950 Tales demanded; and the Chop for making the same publick is expected in a few days.

Four days later the text of the decree was received. It was in strong terms, and, except in one respect, was very satisfactory.

By order of the Emperour.

All Ships belonging to the English and other Europeans that arrive at Wampo in Canton shall Deposite in the Mandarine's hands, all their Powder, Cannon and Arms, before they enter into any Trade or Contract, and when their Trade and Business is over and the Ships are upon their departure, their Powder, Cannon and Arms shall be deliver'd to them. As to the Dutys, the Measurage of each Ship shall be Two thousand Tales or thereabouts, and on all merchandize imported and exported they shall pay Dutys according to the Old Custom. For what reason have you suffered of late years the Europeans to keep their Powder, Cannon and Arms on board their Ships, and for what reason have you made them pay ten ℘ Cent on their Goods, giving me to understand it was a voluntary present from them. This was not the Custom formerly. I think the Antient Custom was that all European Ships that arrived at Wampo were obliged to deliver up their Powder, Cannon and Arms. Now I Order that hereafter all European Ships that arrive at Wampo shall deliver up their Powder, Cannon and Arms, and as for the 10 ℘ Ct. it was not My Will to receive Presents from Foreigners, For which reason I Order that on the arrival of the Chuntuck at Canton, He, the Foyeen, and Hoppo, shall consult together and do herein what they shall see necessary.

Except for the surrender of their armament, the supercargoes had now obtained all they had been working for—so they thought; and it was only when they put the Emperor's orders to the test of enforcement, that they realized how far they fell short of their desires.

Mr. Turner in 1733 had stipulated in all his contracts that in

case the 10 per cent. were remitted in that year, the amount was to be deducted from the prices he had to pay ;[1] but his practice was not followed by his successors. The supercargoes now, however, claimed that this deduction should be made for all their contracts of this year ; to which the merchants objected it was not in their contracts, and, moreover, that they could not evade paying, or even that they had already paid, the money to the Hoppo. It was then claimed for what had not yet been shipped, which at this late period in the season was not considerable ; and finally the merchants agreed to deduct the 10 per cent. from such goods as had not yet been delivered and accepted.

The Hoppo was firm in declaring that so startling an innovation should not apply to the current season, but could only come into effect next year. From the supercargoes he demanded and received measurage in full, including the 1,950 taels for the presents ; and on the merchants he levied the 10 per cent. for all their transactions of the year. Next year all should be well, and the foreign traders might be assured of his most distinguished consideration.

At a later period the Hoppo was a very important official, over whom the Viceroy exercised but slight control ; but in 1736 the Viceroy still retained the fiscal jurisdiction which he afterwards lost. He had cut under the Hoppo's profits, and thereby reduced the quota of gratuities which the Hoppo could bestow upon the Court of Peking, and he was doubtless already aware that a struggle was ahead of him. The supercargoes realized nothing of this. They looked on the steadily augmented exactions as pure robbery for the benefit of the Hoppo's private purse ; and they considered the Emperor's decree as only a noble act of justice, which it was their right to expect, and his to give. They owed him thanks and gratitude ; but they regarded the Emperor as too mighty a potentate to look for any expression of their gratitude in any other form than a dutiful memorial of thanks. They accordingly prepared such a memorial, expressing their gratitude, but pointing out that it was not an ancient custom that the ships should surrender their armament, and asking that they should not be required to do so in future.

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 216.

At this stage, however, they had a disagreeable surprise. M. Devulaer, the French Chief, summoned a meeting of all the supercargoes, and

acquainted the Gent[n] that Ton Hungqua (who was then likewise present) was the pson that by means of the Chuntuck had procured the Emperour's Chop for taking off the Duty of 10 ℘ Cent. Upon which Ton Hungqua said that as we should receive so great a Benefit by this Grant it would be but reasonable to make some acknowledgement to the Pay de Casas whom he had employed in that affair, which every one seemed inclinable to agree to, but being ask'd what would be sufficient, he said that he and the Pay de Casas had been at great Expences at Pekin, and he had already advanced some Money towards defraying theirs. That he had agreed to furnish them with thirty thousand Tales, of which himself and the Merchants would pay fifteen thousand, and he did not doubt the Europeans would willingly contribute the other fifteen, which was but 1500 Tales a Ship as there were ten Europe Ships at Wampo, and every Ship would save 2,000 Tales the next year. He further acquainted the Gentlemen that he had drawn up another letter to the Chuntuck concerning the 6 ℘ Ct. Duty, the Presents, and the Clause about taking ashore the Guns and Aм̃unition, and as he was to go the next day to meet the Chuntuck he desired the Money might be imediately paid him. Being ask'd whether the Sum̃ he demanded was to procure all the advantages he just mentioned, He said the Thirty thousand Tales was only for the 10 ℘ Cent already taken off, and for the other Articles more Money was expected. His demand being so exorbitant nobody would agree to give anything, upon which Ton Hungqua seemed very Angry, and the Company broke up.

The French had a truer political insight into Chinese conditions and made no objection to paying the money; but the English and Dutch manifested some degree of *naïveté* in expecting to secure justice even, not to mention pecuniary advantage, without paying substantially for it; and at a meeting of the English on December 8th it was agreed

by no means to give or Deposite with Ton Hungqua any such Sum̃ as was expected, But that it would be proper a Letter should be drawn up and sent to the Chuntuck to thank him for his kind offices hitherto, and to represent to him what was the Antient Footing the Europeans traded here upon, desiring he would be pleased to continue his good offices in making Use of his Interest at Court to render the Emperours Gracious Intentions towards the Europeans effectual, in taking off the 6 ℘ Cent Duty and the Presents, and more particularly to obtain a Revocation of that Clause which orders that the Ships shall deliver up their Guns and Aм̃unition before they begin to trade.

A letter to that effect was accordingly drawn up and put into Chinese by M. Devulaer; but Ton Hungqua refused flatly to proceed farther with the affair,

since he was under Engagements to the Pay de Casa for fifteen thousand Tales, unless we paid him that money amongst us (the Europeans) to enable him to make good his promise.

The French Chief came on December 27th to a decision to pay his quota, 3,000 taels; but the English and Dutch still held back, and not until January 7th did they definitely decide to pay, the English 6,000 taels, the Dutch 3,000 taels, on a written undertaking that

if any demand shall be made on the Ships belonging to the Honble the East India Company of [England] that shall next arrive here for the delivery of their Guns & Amunition then the abovesaid Ton Hungqua shall repay unto their Supracargoes the Sum of Six thousand Tales.

Meantime, on December 26th the supercargoes were informed that the Viceroy would arrive in four or five days, and had sent word that he wished to see the Europeans and 'say something to them concerning the Emperor's Chop'; and it was intimated that they would be expected to show due honour to the Imperial mandate by kneeling and prostrating themselves on the ground—kotowing—before it.

We told him that to kneel before the Chuntuck would be such a prostitution of the Honour of our Masters and the Nation in General that we could by no means submit to it,—But that we would make our Reverences in the most respectful manner we could.

The supercargoes, though they had had only small trade dealings with Suqua, called him in to confer with them, and at their request he went to see the Hoppo on the subject and show him a specimen of the salutation they proposed to make.

Seuqua being return'd from the Hoppo says it is expected we should kneel if we would pay the Emperour the respect due to him, as the Mandarines of the highest rank will be obliged to do.

Ton Hungqua was also present at the exhibition before the Hoppo. He admitted to the supercargoes, as Suqua had done, that

it was very handsome, but he would deal Ingenuously with us and tell us that That could not be accepted but we must both kneel and prostrate ourselves before the Throne.

The Dutch ambassadors to Peking in 1655, in 1665, and later in 1795 made no difficulty in performing the three kneelings and the nine prostrations before the Emperor; but in 1736 at Canton they made common cause with the English, and

the several Europe Nations engaged their Honour to each other that they would not submit to kneel at their Visit to the Chuntuck, or make any overture to any Mandarin or Merchant concerning it without first comunicating their Intentions to each other.

On January 1st they learned that the Viceroy had gone to his viceregal seat, Shiuhing, and would not come to Canton until after the Chinese New Year:

It 's said the Chuntuck was diverted from coming to the City by the management of the Merchants with the Pay de Casas, as they found a general reluctance in the Europeans to pay their respects in the manner that was Insisted on.

Concurrently with this dispute over the kotow, the French Chief was involved in a very disagreeable affair.

Dec. 22. Some of the French Gentlemen three or four months agoe went ashooting at Wampo, and by Accident one of their Pieces went off as they were getting into their Pinnace returning from their Sport, and shott a Chinaman who died the next Day. The Mandarines upon this Insisted on their delivering up one of their People, which they did, and he has been kept in prison ever since, tho' noways concerned in the Affair. Yesterday the Tryal came on before one of the Inferiour Courts, and Mr. Devulaer the French Chief being called upon appear'd and was order'd to kneel and told that if he did not he should be sent to Prison, so he submitted and was used very Insolently during the Tryal. The Decision was deferred till another hearing & the Man that has been so long confined was remanded to prison.

Dec. 26. Mons'r Devulaer keeps within the French Factory & gives out that he is on board the Pondicherry Ship at Wampo for fear of being obliged again to appear before the Mandarines upon account of the Chinaman that was killed. It 's said they demand ten thousand tales to make it up.

Jan'y 4. Mr. Devulaer the French Chief appear'd a second time yesterday before the Fanghoyen[1] upon the affair of the Chinaman that was accidentally killed, and after a hearing of several hours he was ordered to close confinement. The Principal Merchants staid there all night, but none of them were Permitted to go & speak to him. The Compradors of the French Factory & of their Ships, were Tortured

[1] Presumably the Pengyü Hien, in whose jurisdiction Whampoa lies.

till they accused Mr. Devulaer of the Murder, and it 's said He himself was threatened with it if he would not confess.

Jan'y 6. The French Chief was released to-day it 's said by means of the Chuntuncks Pay de Casa, who came to Canton yesterday & is now at Ton Hungqua's house.

This ended the matter as far as M. Devulaer was concerned, but there is no record of the fate of the man who had been in prison for four months. It is probable that the chief had been held responsible for all his people, and that his release, thus arranged, was taken as the release of a scapegoat.

A special effort was made to procure nankeens, and a point was made of having them woven in Nanking. In all the *Richmond* secured 10,374 pieces :

Some of them have more substance than others, but they are in general much better than what are made here in Canton, which will not hold their colour in washing, as we are assured the true Nankeen will.

The *Normanton* secured a few nankeens, but a quantity of Canton cloth of larger dimensions. The private trade of the two supercargoes on the *Richmond* was as follows :

	Tls.
Chinaware	611
Tea, 675 lb.	273
Cornelian beads	1,625
Soy	4
Arrack	27
Gold, 1,555 ounces	13,215
	15,755

The *Richmond's* silver was partly in pillar dollars, which were taken at 94 ; partly in ' Zelottas ' of only 57·2 touch, 6,979 oz. being only 4,247 oz. of 94 touch ; but the greater part in silver bars of varying touch from 85 to 99.

Delivered two chests of Barr Silver to be melted into Sisee to be ready against we have occasion to advance more money for Gold, cutting a piece off every Barr first and having them assayed by different people. Silver in the Lump seldom answers in China so well as Dollars.

The accounts of the *Normanton* are very full and presented very clearly ; and an abstract of them may serve to illustrate the general characteristics of the trade of the period. The account of stock is as follows :

	Invoiced. Tls.	*Realized.* Tls.
Silver Dollars, 139,520 oz.	115,497	115,497
Lead, 2,000 cwt.	4,708	6,255
Long Ells, 100 pieces	598	900
Charges of Mdse outwards	1,113	..
	121,916	122,652

The merchants from whom the supercargoes bought their homeward investment were as follows :

	Tls.
Young Khiqua : tea, chinaware, nankeens, gold	50,348
Texia & Simon : tea, gold, sago	38,317
Amoy Joss : tea, chinaware	9,265
Old Quiqua : tea	4,653
Leunqua : tea, chinaware	3,513
Felix : tea	254
Teunqua & Gowqua : tea, chinaware	486
Quiqua : chinaware	653
Timqua : chinaware	389
Sinqua : chinaware	53
Tuqua : chinaware, sago	592
Manuel : chinaware	416
Rowqua : tea, chinaware	1,422
Robin : chinaware	216
Tequa : chinaware	186
Suqua : chinaware, sago	1,056
Pinkey : tea, chinaware, sago	1,540
Ton Tienqua : tea	678

During the few years last preceding the principal contracts had been made with Ton Hungqua and Suqua ; the former does not appear in this list ; and from Suqua were obtained only chinaware and sago, for which no advances were ever required.

The account of commodities forming the homeward investment was as follows :

	Tls.
Gold, 2,276 taels wt. of 93	25,561
Chinaware, 285 chests	8,097
Sago, 183 piculs	634
Tea : Bohea, 1,446 piculs	21,375
Congho, 298 ,,	6,869
Peekho, 50 ,,	1,220
Soutchong, 29 ,,	1,434
Bing, 195 ,,	4,773
Hyson, 390 ,,	19,163
Hyson, small leaf, 24 piculs	1,317
Hyson, 2nd sort, 393 ,,	10,192
Singlo, 482 ,,	10,646
Nankeen cloth, 2,560 pieces	896
Canton cloth, 2,010 ,,	2,894
Muster of Stuffs	39
Charges of Mdse, Canton	6,042
	121,152

With Tls. 1,500 deposited with Ton Hungqua this balances the account against the stock realized.

The investment for the *Richmond* was as follows :

Chinaware	389 chests
Sago	115 piculs
Tea	2,760 ,,
Nankeens	10,734 pieces

The investment for the *Walpole* and the *Princess of Wales* was :

Chinaware	455 chests
Sago	104 piculs
Tea	6,522 ,,

THE CANTON FACTORIES, *c.* 1760

XXV

EXPECTATIONS NOT REALIZED, 1737–1738

For the season 1737 the Company had four ships at Canton: the *Sussex* and *Winchester*, from London to Canton and return; the *Royal Guardian*, from Madras returning to Madras; and the *Harrison*, originally dispatched from London to Ningpo. The supercargoes, as had now become the custom, were rewarded in three ways:

(*a*) commission on the proceeds of sale in London amounting to £5 per cent. for each Council (one for the *Sussex* and the *Winchester*, one for the *Harrison*, one for the *Royal Guardian*);

(*b*) allowance from the Company's stock, ranging from £3,250 to £500;

(*c*) privilege of private trade from £150 to £50.

The *Royal Guardian* arrived on September 14th, and was dispatched in only 56 days thereafter. She took for Madras gruff goods, which were obtainable on the Canton market, bought by her own supercargoes; and for London 2,000 piculs of tea, invoiced at 31,488 taels, bought by the Council of the *Sussex* and *Winchester*; this Council also sent by her to Madras 8 chests of Mexico dollars, 27,904 ounces = 23,099 taels.

The *Harrison* received at Batavia an account of the *Normanton's* experiences at Ningpo in 1736; and her supercargoes changed her destination to Canton. There they acted as a separate Council, loading for London 2,740 piculs of tea, 7,750 pieces of silks, and 9,370 pieces of nankeens.

Of the Council of the *Sussex* and *Winchester*, Mr. J. Elwick was Chief and Mr. R. Ayneworth Second, the remuneration of the two being identical. Mr. Elwick was sick from their arrival, though he signed the minutes until October 7th; and he died on November 15th 'after a long Illness of a Flux and Feaver'.

Under the Court's instructions they were forbidden to contract with Suqua

on account of his dishonourable and fraudulent Performance of his Contract for a great quantity of Hyson Tea by the London [in 1735].

but though forbidden to contract with him for future delivery, we do not intend to prohibit your buying Goods of him when he has them on hand, but you must put no Trust or Confidence in him.

Suqua, notwithstanding his difficulties with the Hoppo, was the most important merchant in Canton, Mr. ffytche recording that, for the season 1736,

Suqua, Leonqua, Titqua & Young Hunqua are the merchants that we have chiefly dealt with.

He had, however, become involved in the proceedings against Mr. Fazakerley and Mr. Naish; and, in accepting an open order to 'engross' all the superior Hyson tea on the market, he had laid himself open to the suspicions of the Court; and this prohibition was repeated in each of the four years following.

The stock of the ships was, as usual, almost wholly in silver; but these two ships had each 50 tons of lead and 1,000 pieces of woollens. The lead, 1,680 piculs, was sold at Tls. 3·80 a picul to the two principal contractors for tea and silk, Mandarin Koiqua and Chetqua. The woollens were disposed of with great difficulty, and 985 pieces of callimancoes, invoiced at £1,749, were left unsold in the custody of 'Tsetsyau & Simmons, to be Delivered to the Succeeding Supracargoes;' these supercargoes were informed that

Here are many Merchants tho' but few whose fortunes or Principals are fitted for a trust. We must confess, were we oblidg'd to depend upon any, Tsetsyau should be the man with whom we have Left the Company's Callimancoes to be delivered to you for your Disposal they bearing little or no price this year, the most that was offered us was two tale ℔ Pce. This Tsetsyau we look upon as a man more Sensiable of that Branch of morality that requires men to render to every man his due than any other China Man we know and then he is more Elegiable on another Score and that is he brings down more Goods to Canton upon his own Account than any other Hong in the place by which means he transacts his Business upon a firmer Bottam than those Merchants who contract first and take their Chance after for procuring the Goods.

The supercargoes had sent 8 chests, 32,000 dollars, in the *Royal Guardian* to Madras, and, having failed to obtain the 5,000 or more taels on which they had counted for the callimancoes, their resources were insufficient to complete their lading. They persuaded Chetqua to let them have 200 piculs of fine Congo

at 25 taels, giving their note for the amount, 5,000 taels, payable without interest in eighteen months. The Court disapproved of this, and, in their instructions to the Council of 1740, prohibited the practice in the future; they were, however, not aware that Chetqua was only a cover for Suqua, the supercargoes for 1738 recording that

we dealt with Seuqua (or Chetqua in whose name the Business is transacted) only for some Singlo Teas and those by not any previous Contract.

The Council contracted for their Bohea tea at 13 taels a picul. The investment for the *Sussex* and *Winchester* consisted of 6,000 piculs of tea, 14,500 pieces of wrought silks, 10,000 pieces of nankeens, 1,500 piculs of tutenague, and 400 chests of china-ware. The nankeens cost Tl. 0·31 ℔ piece, 'y^e^ common Length and Breadth'. The ships took no gold, which was at the high price of 124 taels dollar silver per 10 taels of gold at 93.

Hitherto we have always had 'comprador' used in its signification of 'ship-chandler' or 'purveyor of provisions'; but this year we have what may be the first instance of its use in the sense of 'chief cashier'.

July 26. As we have appointed Mr. John Scrivener [Fourth of Council] Compradore, have this day delivered to him a bag [1000 dollars] of Treasure.

Aug. 23. Delivered John Scrivener 2 bags of Silver to defray the Compradore Expences.

Mr. Scrivener's functions related, however, to the maintenance of the factory, and he was not concerned with payments for the investments; so that he may, perhaps, have been regarded as a purveyor.

The year 1737 was one of great expectations, the Council for that year having received a letter signed by the eight members of the three Councils of 1736 to the following effect:

We have the Pleasure to Inform you that the Emperor has abolished the Duty of 10 ℔ Ct. by an Edict published here the 1st of December last, this being the Effect of a Memorial presented by the Europeans to y^e^ T'sontou [Viceroy], and of Personal applycation made to him and to his Pay de Casas by Ton Honqua, the latter demanded the sum of fifteen hundred tales from each Ship to Satisfy the Pay de Casa and others for their Charges and Trouble in soliciting the affair

at Court; but as the Edict contained a Clause ordering the delivery of our Arms, we consented to Pay the money only upon Condition that Ton Honqua should either by next year obtain for us a Dispensation from that Part of the Edict, or else refund to you the Whole Sum advanced by the Company's Ships. . . . he further says that he is Confident he can by the same Interest procure us Relief from the 6 ℘ Ct. and the greatest part of the Nineteen hundred and fifty Tales Presents, Provided the Persons that must be Employed to Effect it can be assured that their expences shall be defrayed and their trouble rewarded, he adds that the gate is now open, and gives us free access to every reasonable favour, that a Little money Properly applyed will keep it so but that we cannot expect that Courtiers should serve us for nothing.

Of all this radiant vision, not much was realized. No demand was made for delivery of the armament, and Ton Hungqua was adjudged to have earned the money already paid to him for this service. The 10 per cent. was taken off; but the supercargoes of the *Harrison* recorded that its remission did not seem to have lowered prices. The *Sussex* and the *Winchester* obtained their Bohea at 13 taels, but they contracted for it before the arrival of any other ships; and for their wrought silks they paid the old prices. As regards the remainder of their aspirations:

We desired the Remittance of the 6 ℘ Ct. and the Present of 1950 Taels, but he [the Hoppo] told us as the Emperor had last year taken off the 10 ℘ Cent, it would not be a fit time to ask any more of him.

At this interview the supercargoes were accompanied by all the merchants, eleven in number, with whom they counted on doing business; but the Hoppo

would have had us to have chosen 2 or 3 Merchants to have Transacted any affairs between him and us, but we refused it and answered that as we expected to buy our Goods where and of Whom we Please, those Merchants we shall buy our Goods of, would be the Fittest Persons to wait on him for anything we might want.

It seems possible that the system of 'Security Merchant',[1] already referred to, was not yet in good working order.

The chief of the Dutch factory, Mr. Abbis, had remained in Canton 'the year round'; and on July 14th 'the French Supracargoes arrived at Canton from Moacoa, having resided there the year round'.

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 247.

The shipping at Whampoa in 1737 was as follows :

Four Company's ships as above, 1,920 tons.
Jenny, English country ship, 240 tons, from Bombay.

French :	*Conti*,	550 tons	8,500 piculs tea 4,000 pieces silks 600 piculs tutenague	for France.
	Condé,	600 ,,		
Dutch :	*Beekvliet*,	640 ,,	8,330 ,, tea 500 ,, tutenague	to Holland.
	Knappenhof,	555 ,,		
	Croswick,	556 ,,	420 ,, tea 986 ,, tutenague 700 ,, alum	to Batavia.
Danish :	*Sleswick*,	700 ,,	5,660 ,, tea 1,500 pieces silks 300 piculs tutenague	to Copenhagen.
Swedish :	*Suecia*,	550 ,,	5,000 ,, tea 300 ,, tutenague 18,000 pieces silks	to Gothenburg.

For the season 1738 the Court dispatched four ships from London to Canton ; the *Prince of Wales* and *London* under one Council, with Mr. Henry Plant as Chief ; the *Princess Royal* and the *Prince of Orange* under one Council, with Mr. Edward Page as Chief. The remuneration of each Council was the same as in 1737 ; and each was instructed to ' maintain a friendly correspondence ' with the other, to offer the other a half of every contract if desired, and to buy the Hyson jointly through a committee of the Chief and Second of each Council.

A fifth ship, the *Godolphin*, was also dispatched by the Company from Madras. She loaded independently for Madras, but the two Canton Councils loaded on her 1,500 piculs of tea, bought jointly, but invoiced a half by each. Commission was paid to the Canton Councils, but they debited the account with Tls. 1·50 a ton paid to the ship as freight.

It may be here observed that all the ships sent by the Company through this century were chartered at a rate of freight based on the tons burthen of the ship, and as ships could generally carry more, in a judicious mixture of measurement and dead weight, than their recognized tonnage, it was the regular practice for supercargoes to offer to load the ship to her full capacity, on condition that the excess was charged only half freight ; and this condition was invariably accepted by the commander as representing the owners. We find the same captains commanding the same ship in successive voyages ; and to this date there is no evidence that they or their officers were appointed by

the East India Company. It may be noted that these ships, now of 495 tons, carried generally six mates, a surgeon and surgeon's mate, carpenter, gunner, boatswain, and a crew of 100 to 120, with usually 30 guns. French and Swedish ships of 700 tons had crews of 150. An English ship of nominally 495 tons is noted as retaining on board when she began loading, 78 tons of iron kentlege and about 30 tons of stone ballast.

The *Prince of Wales* was dispatched three months before the others in order that she might take in a lading of pepper at Banjarmassin; and her stock on arriving at Canton consisted of 3,112 piculs of pepper, 50 tons of lead, and 16,000 dollars in silver. The pepper was sold at Tls. 10·50 a picul, 'they finding Bags and paying the Custom, and we Boat Hire and Peace de Casas fees'.

The two Councils maintained a friendly correspondence, according to their instructions; there is every evidence that the members of both acted up to the letter of their orders; but the machinery creaked—a coalition seemed uncongenial to the English character. Every offer of a moiety in a proposed sale or purchase was made from Council to Council in writing, and accepted (or in some cases declined) in writing, signed by all the members of the Council concerned; and this although all the details might have been discussed and the bargain struck in a joint conference of the two Councils. Early in the season it was discovered that Mr. Page's Council had bought gold without having offered a half to Mr. Plant. The former contended that, as they had to buy a larger quantity, it was not fair to divide the earlier purchases, and to saddle them with all the later lots at probably a higher price; and they proposed that, while all purchases of gold were to be divided, if so desired, the price should be averaged through the season. This, at first, Mr. Plant's Council refused, but they finally agreed to it, on condition that the same method of averaging should be applied to Bohea tea, of which their ships required a larger quantity than Mr. Page's.

The first lots of Bohea were bought at Tls. 15·25 and 14·80, the seller 'to pay all Dutys and Charges on board Ship, which is made a Condition in all our Tea Contracts'. The price continued between Tls. 14·80 and Tls. 16·00 until after the departure of the Dutch, French, and Swedish ships; and it then fell to

Tls. 9 to 11, at which rates Mr. Plant bought about a third of his lading of Bohea.

The gold was bought at different dates at 116 taels dollar money per 10 taels of gold at 93. Five days before the sailing of the four ships the supercargoes discovered that they had bought too much gold by 115 pieces, about 1,100 taels weight; and, with some difficulty they persuaded the merchants to take it back at 106. It was agreed that

> three eights of the Loss that might be sustained in the Disposal of the Surplus Gold should be put to our Account [Mr. Plant's Council] and the remaining five eights should be borne by the Gentlemen [of Mr. Page's Council].

It is to be presumed that the loss of 1,100 taels was divided on that basis between the ten supercargoes who formed the two Councils.

In this year we again have pillar dollars taken at 95, but only for 36,000, and they were separately packed and separately invoiced as 'old pillars'; Mexico and new pillars were both at 94.[1]

The stock of each ship was 50 tons of lead, and, except of the *Prince of Wales*, 1,000 pieces of woollens. The Councils acted together in selling, the lead realizing Tls. 3·60 a picul. With the woollens they had difficulty; even as part of a bargain in buying tea, they could not always obtain their invoice cost; and finally

> as our frequent Endeavours to sell the Stuffs by the *London* for prime Cost has been ineffectual, We think it more for the Interest of our Hon'ble Employers to Dispose of them for less, rather than leave them behind.

The callimancoes which had been left behind by Mr. Ayneworth the previous year could not be sold this year, and were again left to be disposed of in 1739. On the whole, however, the supercargoes were well satisfied with their season:

> We have heard nothing more about the Guns & the Government has been very Easy in all Respects.

On January 9th the captains, as was customary, severally informed their Councils that their respective ship

> now draws upwards of eighteen Feet and at Neep Tide I am apprehensive there will not be sufficient Water over the two Barrs, and as the Spring Tides are now coming on, I desire you'll please procure me a Chop or Sufferance from Wampoe down below the Second Barr.

[1] Cf. *antea*, pp. 212, 224.

All four ships completed loading and sailed January 18th; they and the *Godolphin* also sailed in company from St. Helena on May 16, 1739.

The lading of the *Prince of Wales* and the *London* was as follows:

Tea, 6,994 piculs.
Sago, 133 ,,
Tutenague, 1,198 piculs.
Woven silks, 11,107 pieces.
Nankeens, 9,530 ,,
Gold, 220 shoes, value about 25,000 taels.

The *Prince of Orange* and the *Princess Royal* took 443 shoes of gold. The private trade declared by the captains was as follows:

	Gold. Tls.	*Goods.* Tls.	*Total.* Tls.
Captain Bootle, of *London* . . .	10,556	10,389	20,945
Captain Pelly, of *Prince of Wales* .	9,000	?	?
Captain Backwell, of *Princess Royal* .	9,000	6,668	15,668
Captain Hudson, of *Prince of Orange* .	10,200	11,000	21,200

The shipping at Canton in 1738 was as follows:

English: Company's ships, 5 of 2,440 tons.
Country ships, none.
French: 2 of 1,400 tons, from and to France.
1 of 500 tons, from and to Pondicherry.
Dutch: 1 of 650 tons, from and to Holland.
1 of 650 tons, from and to Batavia.
Swedish: 2 of 900 tons, from and to Sweden.
Danish: 1 of 800 tons, from and to Denmark.
1 of 500 tons, from and to Surat.

There were also at Macao:

Spanish: 3 of 630 tons, from and to Manila.
Portuguese: 1 of 500 tons, from and to Brazil.
Total: 18 ships of 8,960 tons.

There were, besides, five ships of about 1,200 tons belonging to Macao.

XXVI

THE EASTERN PASSAGE, 1739–1740

For the year 1739 there were two Councils at Canton: one of five members, with Mr. Miles Barne as Chief, for the affairs of three ships, the *Houghton*, the *Walpole*, and the *Harrington*; the other of three members, Mr. Frederick Pigou Chief, for the *Augusta*, and to load 2,000 piculs of tea on the *Duke of Lorrain*. Their remuneration was in the threefold form now customary.

The *Walpole* sailed early from the Downs, on November 3, 1738, for Banjarmassin to take in pepper for Canton. She carried to Canton 1,943 piculs of pepper, which was sold at 10 taels a picul; and 1,340 piculs of lead, sold at Tls. 3·60.

The *Houghton* did not sail from the Downs until February 7th, leaving Spithead on March 11th, and arriving at Whampoa on July 27th, making a quick passage.

We have run by Log from Portsmouth to this place Miles 15,689 including an allowance for the Streights of Sunda & Banca & this River in 138 days.

Her stock was disposed of as follows:

	Tls.
Lead, 1,339 piculs sold at Tls. 3·60 . . .	4,820
Perpetuanoes, 1,000 pieces, Tls. 6·60 . . .	6,600

The *Harrington* brought from Bombay and Tellicherri the following stock:

	Rupees
Cotton, 250 bales containing 125 candys, taken on at Bombay	9,745
Pepper, 416 candys of 600 lb. taken on at Tellicherry . .	35,361

Silver taken on at Bombay:

	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
15 chests, 52,320 oz. new Philip dollars at Rup. 242. 1. 83 ℔ 100 oz.		126,854	
5 chests, 17,409 oz. 10 dwt. old Pillars at Rup. 247. 1. 39 ℔ 100 oz.		43,062	
French Crowns, 28 oz. at 244. 3. 16 ℔ 100 oz. .		68	
6 chests containing Rupees	60,271		
Paid Tellicherry invoice	35,361	24,910	
			194,894
Total Rupees . .			240,000

The cotton was sold by the unit of the bale taken at 3 piculs net (making the Bombay candy 800 lb.) at Tls. 9·00 a picul, a total of 6,750 taels, a gross profit of 107 per cent. The pepper turned out 233,870 lb. or 1,758 piculs, and was sold at Tls. 10·10 a picul, a total of 17,760 taels, a gross profit of 51 per cent.

The *Augusta* sailed from the Downs on March 1st, spent ten days at Batavia 'for the refreshment of the Ship's Company', and arrived at Macao on August 5th, having been (including the stay at Batavia) 157 days on the way from the Downs. Her stock was sold as follows:

	Tls.
Lead, 1,353 piculs at 3·60	4,870
Perpetuanoes, 2,000 pieces at 6·50 . . .	13,000

'which prices we determined to take, least the arrival of the Dane & Sweede Ships, which are daily expected, should fall the price of those commodities;' but these were sold, on August 18th, for cash, and not as part of a bargain for tea, while the *Houghton's* supercargoes, on August 31st,

sent for Teinqua, as the best bidder, and of as fair a Character as any Merchant in the place, and agreed with him, at a ready money price, though under a promise to take Goods of him in Return, at such rates as we can buy for money, when we judge it a proper Time.

The 985 pieces of callimancoes left behind in 1737 by Mr. Ayneworth were also sold, at a loss, at 5 taels a piece for Tls. 4,925. On the disposal of the *Augusta's* stock Mr. Pigou writes:

Ever since our first arrival we have tried to sell our 50 pieces of Stuffs, but have found it exceeding difficult, the Merchants not offering near the cost, but at last Old Quiqua offered to take 20 p^{s} at 18 Tales the piece, if we would take about 18 peculs of Singlo tea in exchange for it, the same sort as that we packed with him the 6th instant, which we agreed to, and the remaining 30 pieces we divided among our other Merchants at the same price, 50 pieces sold for Tales 900. The said 50 pieces of Stuffs cost Tales 894·956. The Merchants never offered above 14 Tales a piece for them, & only took them at a higher price to serve us. Texia showed us all those he bought last year, and declared they were a very unsaleable commodity.

It was a standing order of the Court that the English stock of their ships should always be sold for ready money, and not in truck for Chinese produce, in order that they might be able to gauge the demand and the profit; but it was becoming increasingly difficult to dispose of even the amount, from 2 to

5 per cent., of lead and woollens which now formed part of the stock of the ships from London. The *Harrington*, on the other hand, had as part of her lading a quantity of country produce from India which constituted 19 per cent. of the stock laden on board, and 24½ per cent. of the sum available for investment at Canton.

In the *Augusta's* diary we have an exact statement of the method of calculating the measurement dues; and, from it and from other sources,[1] the following particulars may be given of the measurage as now and henceforward established at Canton.

Ships were measured for length from the centre of the foremast to the centre of the mizenmast, and for breadth from side to side close abaft the mainmast; no attention was paid to the depth. This length was multiplied by this breadth, both in Chinese coveds, cubits, or *ch'ih* of 14·1 English inches, and the product divided by 10; the result gives the units of measurage.

Ships of or exceeding 74 coveds long, or 23 coveds broad, were rated as first-rates; those 71 to 74 long, and 22 to 23 broad, as second-rates; those 65 to 71 long, and 20 to 22 broad, as third-rates; but all smaller ships were rated as third-rates, as in the case of the sloop in 1730.[2]

First-rates paid measurage dues per unit	Tls. 7·777̇
Second ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	7·142
Third ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	5·000

The *Augusta* measured 76·3 coveds in length and 23·3 coveds in breadth, and was therefore a first-rate. The calculation for her dues was as follows:

$\frac{76{\cdot}3 \times 23{\cdot}3}{10} = 177{\cdot}779$ units.

	Tls.
177·779 × 7·777̇	1,382·726
Deduct the 'Emperor's Allowance' of 20 ₱ Ct.	276·545
	1,106·181
Add 10 ₱ Ct. for the Copaen (Kungpan) or Hoppo's Controller	110·618
	1,216·799
Add 7 ₱ Ct. to make it sycee	85·176
Add 2 ₱ Ct. on 1,106·181 for the Shupan or Clerks of the Hoppo's Office	22·124
Total, Current silver	1,324·099

[1] Especially Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, London, 1813, vol. ii, p. 492.
[2] Cf. *antea*, p. 199.

This was the amount of the official dues, supplementary to which was 'the 1,950 taels' which, for a century and a third from 1704, was the established total of the 'Presents'. These were uniform for all ships, whatever their size, except that French ships paid 2,050 taels, and country ships (those from India) paid 1,850 taels. The 1,950 taels were distributed as follows:[1]

	Tls.
To the Emperor { on the ship's arrival	1,089·640
To the Emperor { on the ship's departure	516·561
To the Liangtao (Grain Commissioner) for the poor	132·000
To the Security Merchant's Dispatchador	12·000
To the Writers (Shupan) on measuring the ship	8·400
To the soldiers attending the measuring	5·560
To the Hoppo's soldiers on the arrival of the ship	16·780
To the Fuyuan on arrival of the ship	2·800
To the Kwangchow Fu (Prefect of Canton)	2·800
To the Penyü Hien with jurisdiction over Whampoa	1·700
To the Namhoi Hien ,, ,, ,, the factories	1·200
To the Künming Fu (military officer at Macao)	1·200
To two tidewaiters (preventive officers) stationed by the Hoppo on the ship during her stay at Whampoa	150·000
To the difference of the Emperor's weights, etc.	9·359
Total	1,950·000

The *Augusta*, a ship of nominally 495 tons burthen, paid therefore a total of Tls. 3,274·099 for measurage, being at the rate of £2 4*s.* 1*d.* a ton for the right to enter port and conduct her trade there.

A large contract for Bohea was made at Tls. 15·50, and others for smaller quantities at Tls. 14·00. This, the cheapest black (also called brown, and by the Chinese red) tea, constituted the greater part of the investment in tea, but the Company now obtained the greater profit from the finer sorts of green tea. Mr. Barne's Council wrote to Mr. Pigou:

> As the success of our Hon'ble Masters Affairs in China this year depends much upon the Purchases of Green Teas, we think it necessary to remind you of their Instructions in Relation thereto, and by what Discourse hath already passed between us on this head, we have no Reason to doubt but you will join with us in keeping down the prices.

The two Councils maintained a friendly correspondence through the season, buying their teas in consultation.

> The Hysons we bought [at] from 34 to 30, excepting one Sixty Pecul at 38, which being Teenquas own Tea, we took of him at that Rate, in Return for the Service he did us in securing some Singloes we wanted, & much more he deserved, in procuring us our first Bargain

[1] Milburn, loc. cit.

of Hyson, for none had been bought under 45 till he undertook it for us. We had very large Dealings with him in the other Teas and other Goods, & in every thing he perform'd very well.

In this we have evidence of the beginning of those friendly relations, of co-operation and of give-and-take, which were later to become so prominent a feature in the factory life at Canton.

The supercargoes could get no more than 50 piculs of quicksilver, and for it they paid 90 taels. Gold was at 118,

at which price we find a Profitt of 5 to 10 ℔ Cent, and therefore agree to buy . . . but as this price exceeds our Hon^ble Masters orders by about the difference of our Commission, we willingly leave that to their Determination, having Considered that the Risque of Gold is upon an extraordinary Occasion less than Silver.

Presumably because it can more easily be salved from a wreck. The reason assigned for the high price was that 'the French freely advanced their money'.

As is noted above,[1] the *Harrington* had 5 chests of old pillar dollars, which were of 95 touch.

Finding a Surplus of Tales 153·564 being the Touch of 5 chests of Old Pillar Dollars, we invested the same in Gold, and sent it down the Ship not being over the Bars, with advice thereof, Tale W^t 12·875 Touch 94 at 118 ℔ 10 Tale of 93 Touch.

The *Harrington*, being loaded for Bombay, had early dispatch, and we have an account of her factory expenses for three months, August 1st to October 31st, as follows:

Account for three ships:

		Tls.
Rent of factory (two hongs) for whole season		1,200
Factory expenses, house repairs, furniture		1,942
Sundry expenses, as follows:		
8 leaguers Batavia arrack	231	
2 ,, Cape wine	138	
2 Hhds Goa arrack	40	
8 ,, Beer	72	
Confectionery	42	
Tamerind and Sugar	22	
Table Linnen	36	
	—	581
		3,723
The *Harrington's* proportion being ⅓ of said charges		1,241

The investment for the *Harrington* amounted to Tls. 84,217, made up of Tls. 54,310 in goods and Tls. 29,907 in gold.

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 265.

The *Augusta* had exhausted her stock before completing her investment.

Capt. Townshend informed us that the *Augusta* could carry at least 150 picul more of tea, which so much exceeds her Tonnage, that we find ourselves under an unavoidable necessity to [borrow], but to obviate the displeasure our Hon^ble^ Masters seem to express at leaving debts here, we determined to desire Captain Townshend to lend us what we shall want, and to promise him an equal advantage on the loan, with that he can make on his gold. . . . We must observe for our Justification that . . . our Ship carrys about 400 piculs of tea more than ships let out to the Company for the same tonnage have done.

The supercargoes resolved not to draw their commission for the tea shipped by them on the *Duke of Lorrain*, and they borrowed Tls. 2,576 from Captain Townshend.

Mr. Barne's Council narrowly escaped having serious trouble over an incident which occurred at their factory in the last weeks of their stay.

Dec. 24. Received out of the Harrington's Commission [the Company's stock being exhausted] Tales 103·872 for a present (acco^t^ of an Accident) made to Teenqua & Suqua to defray the expence of a Doctor, Linguister, &ca Charges, on the following Occasion, Viz^t^ A Sentry upon Duty receiving some Provocation from a China Cooley, that forcibly wou'd come into the Factory, & threw some Bricks at him, he rashly Cut him on the Head with his Cutlass, through the Bone. We immediately sent the Sailor down & took charge of the Chinaman in the Factory, judging it dangerous to let him go out, a great Mob being at the Factory Doors at the time; this happened the 7th Ins^t^ & our Merchants have been ever since Palliating the Business, & as they have been at an expense about it, and will be at more, as he must go into the Dutch Doctors hands, we think we could do no Less than pay his share towards it, which we hope will be approv'd on, for had they not taken a great deal of Pains about it, the Consequence might have been worse.

Two days later, December 26th, the supercargoes left Canton, fortunate that the consequences had, in fact, not been worse; and the next year the fifth mate of one of the ships was sent up to Canton in permanent command of the factory guard of nine sailors. It is to be noted that Suqua, notwithstanding the Court's prohibition of his employment, was one of 'our Merchants', engaged on a task such as fell to the Security Merchants of later days. They record of him:

Suqua's Silks were so very good that it would be injustice to him not to take particular notice of them, besides he took a great deal of

trouble in making them up after the European manner, which we hope will preserve them from Spotting. We had the raw silk also of him, and indeed we could get nobody else that would undertake the difficulty of making it according to the Company's orders.

The Court might fulminate against him, might prohibit any trust being placed in him; but the supercargoes, on the spot, found in him a degree of efficiency which made him indispensable.

Apart from this there was no difficulty attending the transactions of the season:

The Hoppo was gone up to Court before we arrived, & came down the 1st December; the Business under the Foyens direction in the mean time went on very well, & the Government has been very good and easie in all Respects towards us.

The lading of the four ships loading for London was as follows:

Augusta: Tea, 3,702 piculs.
Woven silks, 3,736 pieces.

Duke of Lorrain: Tea, 1,998 piculs.

Walpole and *Houghton*: Tea, 6,307 piculs.
Woven silks, 7,295 pieces.
Raw silk, 20 piculs.
Cotton cloth, 513 pieces.
Chinaware, 425 chests.
Tutenague, 595 piculs.

Harrington, for Bombay: Tea, 2,012 piculs in 765 chests.
Chinaware, 280 chests.
Sago, 124 piculs.
Tutenague, 1,697 piculs.
Sugar Candy, 112 piculs.
Hartall, 99 piculs.
Quicksilver, 52 piculs.
Gold, 1,218 taels weight.
Silver, 24,910 rupees.

For the season 1740 the Court tried a new plan. Again there were to be two Councils, maintaining a friendly correspondence, for the affairs of four ships: one, with Mr. Henry Plant as Chief, for the *Winchester* and the *Princess Emelia*; one, with Mr. Edward Page as Chief, for the *Royal Guardian* and the *Duke of Dorset*. Their remuneration was in the threefold form now customary.

The Chief and Third of each Council were ordered to embark together on the *Winchester*, which was given early dispatch; and, on their arrival at Canton, the four supercargoes were to

form a provisionally united Council for the purpose of engrossing all the Hyson tea which should come on the market, and of making early contracts for their other teas and their silks. As viewed in London this seemed an excellent project; but in its execution, as often happens with the plans of arm-chair strategists, the unexpected intervened, and the project failed.

The supercargoes received their dispatches from Mr. Secretary Chris. Mole on January 5th; the *Winchester* arrived at Spithead on the 14th, and sailed on the 20th, with the four supercargoes on board. On June 5th they 'made the Island of Java'; their orders were to wood and water at Mew Bay, without calling in at Batavia; but on June 15th the captain informed them that the bowsprit was badly decayed and must be replaced, and that twenty-six of the crew were 'ill of the Scurvy' and 'incapable of doing Duty and a great probability of the number daily increasing'. Already 146 days at sea, with a month still required to Canton, with every prospect of exceeding the *Houghton's* run in the previous year by forty days, the supercargoes had a strong motive for pushing on; but they were compelled to order the ship into Batavia Road for the refreshment of the crew and renewal of the spars. They sailed again on July 14th and arrived at Canton on August 15th, being still ahead of all their consorts. The *Princess Emelia* arrived September 1st.

There is every indication that a friendly correspondence might have been maintained, but for the fact that Mr. Plant had at first one, and later two, of his ships at hand to load, while Mr. Page had none. The first definite offer of the moiety of a contract was made to Mr. Page on August 20th, but Mr. Plant accompanied it by a proviso:

> We do now offer you to be concerned one half part with us, upon your assuring us that it shall not be thrown upon our hands in case your ships should not arrive here this Season.

There was for several days an exchange of arguments in writing on this condition; but Mr. Plant persisted and, through the whole season, offered a share in every purchase he made, but with that condition attached. Mr. Page and his colleague replied invariably in the set form:

> We thank you for your offer of half of . . . but desire to be excused accepting of them upon the terms you mention.

In acting thus, the supercargoes on both sides were well advised, for neither of Mr. Page's two ships arrived during that season. Two other ships of that season, one French, one Danish, were very late in arriving and barely 'saved their passage' by unprecedented methods. The English Company's instructions were always to make the island of Java well to the eastward of Java Head, i. e. to the windward of the Straits of Sunda.

Oct. 2. Messrs. Duvelaer & Valarme, Supracargoes from France, arrived here, having quitted their ship the *Jason* near Macao. They made the Coast of Sumatra 120 Leagues to the Westward [i. e. to leeward] of Java and then bore away for the Streights of Malacca, in the passing through of which they were 40 Days. When they had got as far as Pulo Sapato,[1] they met with strong Northerly winds, and thereupon stood to the Eastward till they made the Philippine Islands. They then found Easterly Winds and strong Northerly Currents, and by keeping that Coast in sight as long as they could before they stood over to the Coast of China, they had the good fortune to make the Lima Islands,[2] and to reach this place in fifty days from Malacca. This Ships arrival is thought to be owing to the Chief Mons. Duvelaer who having made several voyages from hence to Manilla, and being well acquainted with that Coast, induc'd them to take that Route, by which means they have saved their passage in this late season of the Year, contrary to the expectation of every body here.

It must be remembered that October 2nd O.S. corresponds to October 13th N.S., at which date the north-east monsoon is ordinarily well established. The Admiralty Chart of the China Sea, corrected to 1909, marks this route as 'recommended from Singapore to Hongkong in the N.E. monsoon for low powered steamers;' but its adoption in 1740 by the lubberly sailing-ship of the period showed bold and intelligent seamanship. The methods adopted by the Danish ship were less spectacular.

Oct. 6. The Supracargoes of the Dane Ship arrived here, and acquainted us that from Pulo Sapata they had the Wind from N.N.E. to E.N.E., that 19 days agoe they made the Island Samshoe, 10 leagues to the Westward of Macao, and then found the Wind and Current so strong against them, that the Ship could not gain anything to the Eastward, for which reason they hired a small fishing Boat, that came on board, and landed at Macao, and sent from thence 8 large Sampans

[1] Lat. 10° N., long. 109° E.

[2] Ten miles south of Hongkong.

to tow the Ship. We have had such a series of mild Weather and moderate Winds, as have not been known to happen before, which undoubtedly has been the cause of this Ships arrival.

On the arrival of the *Winchester*, Mr. Plant's first duty was to demand the customary privileges.

Aug. 17. Demanded of the Hoppo a continuance to us of all the Priviledges that the English Nation have enjoyed at this Port, and had his assurances that they should be granted. We likewise demanded pursuant to an Edict of the Emperours publish'd in the year 1736 that the measurage of every ship might be settled at 2,000 Tales, but he said that as there had not been one years discontinuance of paying the usual presents and Measurage, it was not in his power to make any alteration.

Sept. 4. Demanded of the Hoppo that the measurage and presents for our ships might be fixed at 2,000 Tales each, and he replyed that it was not in his power to grant that Demand.

An illustration of the vagueness of English tons burthen in those days is found in the case of these two ships. We have seen [1] that the *Augusta*, 495 tons, loaded 400 piculs (35 to 40 tons measurement) of tea more than certain other ships of the same tonnage; and now the *Winchester*, 495 tons, and the *Princess Emelia*, 495 tons, were measured by the Chinese with the following result:

Winchester . length 77·5 coveds, breadth 24·5 coveds, 190 units.
Princess Emelia ,, 75·5 ,, ,, 23·45 ,, 177 ,,

One incident occurred during the stay of the ships, but not attended by any consequences.

Nov. 4. Last night the street Wall of the Room in which the Honourable Companys Silver was lodged, was broke through, and a bag containing 453 Tales W^t^ of Silver stole from thence. So soon as the theft was known, complaint was made to the Foyen, who immediately gave orders to the Langhiheun [Namhoi Hien] to make a strict search throughout the City and Suburbs for the recovery thereof. In the afternoon the Seyah [Hiehtai] view'd the place broke through, which was built of Brick, and was 14 Inches in thickness.

Nov. 7. The Lamoyen [Namhoi Hien] came to our Factory, and view'd the Wall that was broke through the 3rd Instant.

The matter is not again referred to, and it is to be presumed that the stolen silver was not recovered.

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 270. By the Company's charter ships of 500 tons and over were at this date required to carry a chaplain.

The investment for the two ships was as follows :

Tea :	Bohea (black) . .	piculs 1,890	
	Hyson and Souchong .	,, 877	
	Singlo and other green .	,, 3,879	
		——	6646 piculs.

Woven silks, 8,588 pieces.
Nankeens, 4,000 ,,
Sago, 66 piculs.
Chinaware, 400 chests.
Gold, 104 bars and shoes at 117.

When the ships left England, war with France seemed possible, if not imminent. While at Batavia in June the supercargoes made a friendly arrangement with the Dutch General and Council, by which they might receive early communication of any news affecting their safety. On leaving Canton at the end of December, they gave the following instructions to their commanders :

You are hereby ordered to proceed with your Ship, according to the Directions that are contained in the Packet that we now deliver to you from the Secret Committee, and we possitively order and direct that you keep Company with the $\frac{\textit{Winchester}}{\textit{Princess Emelia.}}$

The shipping at Canton in the years 1739 and 1740 was as follows :

		1739.		1740.			
		No.	*Tons.*	*No.*	*Tons.*	*Guns.*	*Crews.*
English :	Company . .	5	2,465	2	990	..	..
	Country . .	2	950	..	..	..	..
French :	Company . .	2	1,300	2	1,500	70	300
	Country . .	1	400	1	500	20	80
Dutch :	Holland . .	2	1,250	2	1,300	56	170
	Batavia . .	1	400	1	650	28	85
Danish		1	700	1	800	36	136
Swedish		1	700	..	..	..	..

At Macao in 1740 there were the following :

Portuguese :	for Indian ports	5 ships,	2,750 tons.
	for Batavia	5 ,,	1,250 ,,
Spanish :	for Manila	2 ,,	400 ,,

XXVII

WAR WITH SPAIN, 1741

For the season 1741 the Court sent out two Councils to Canton: one, with Mr. Frederick Pigou as Chief, for the ships *Princess Mary* and *York*; one, with Mr. John Misenor as Chief, for the *Northampton* direct to Canton, and the *Godolphin* via Bombay, there loading for Canton. Again the experiment was tried of sending ahead the *Princess Mary* with the Chief and Second of each Council, for the purpose of jointly engrossing the Hyson tea which should come to market, and of making early contracts; and again failure attended the plan. In 1740 we had a Council without its ships, and in 1741 we have three ships without the senior two of their Councils.

The *Princess Mary* near the latitude of 15 degrees 'met with a violent Tyfoon in which she lost her Masts', and she arrived at Macao a year late, on July 1, 1742. The Third of each of the Councils of 1741 served as acting Chief: Mr. Richard Oliver for the *York*, and Mr. Lascoe Hide for the *Northampton* and the *Godolphin*.

In 1741 there was in addition the third Council of Mr. Edward Page, holding over from 1740, when his ships did not save their passage. The *Royal Guardian* arrived late at Bombay, and, having already lost her passage to Canton, was turned back loaded for London by the President and Council of Madras; but the *Duke of Dorset*, her instructions dated March 12, 1738 (1739), arrived at Whampoa on July 10, 1741, having been sixteen months out from the Downs. In addition to the French and Danish ships which barely saved their passage in 1740,

> July 14, 1741, Advice came this morning from Macao that the *Queen of Denmark*, one of the last year's missing Ships, was arrived there, having left Berghen in Norway the 28th December.

In their instructions to the supercargoes of the *York* and the *Princess Mary* the Court advised them that

> Captain Rigby [of the *Normanton*, in 1736] left a young lad in China, James Flint, to learn the language. If you meet with him there you will do well to entertain him in our Service, in case he will be of any benefit to you.

His experiences in the five years' interval are indicated in a letter addressed by him, on November 19, 1741, to the supercargoes of the *York*:

With the greatest Submission, I crave Indulgence to represent to you that I was left here by Capt. Rigby five years agoe to learn the China Language, and apply'd myself thereto for three years, until Capt. Rigby sent for me to Bombay, to which place I went on board the ship *Harrington*. Capt. Rigby was lost before my arrival there, and a little time after the Governor & Councill of settlement thought propper to order me on the *Prince William* to Madrass, and desired the President & Councill there would send me on board their ships to China again, to continue my application to learning the language of that Country, and they were pleas'd to Entertain & Allow me the same as a Companys Servant, untill the *Augusta* sailed, on which ship they sent me again to this place, and wrote a letter to the supracargoes att Canton, advising the End of my being sent hither, which letter was Received by the Supracargoes of the *Duke of Dorsett*, who have been so kind as to Entertain me in their factory ever since. I understand the Honourable Court of Directors have Condescended to make some Mention of me in their Instructions to you and therefore presume to address you & offering my service to stay here to learn to read & write and Endeavour to make myself acquainted with the Mandareen, as well as the Common Language that is talk'd in this place, Provided you will be pleas'd to allow me some support during my Continuance here; I am Inclined to hope for your Complyance, as I have nothing of my own to maintain me, att this place, and as the Governor & Councill of Bombay Proposed my returning hither I never sought any other way of getting my bread, but Entirely depended on the goodness of the honourable Company; If you please to Enquire my Character & behaviour of the Gentlemen In whose factory I have been supported upwards of five months, I flatter myself itt may be such as may Induce you to take my Case Into your Consideration.

Mr. Oliver invited the opinion of the other two Councils, and as they expressed their approval, he issued the sum of 150 taels to Mr. James Flint.

England was now at war with Spain—the war over 'Jenkins's ear'; and in Eastern waters it was marked by one small episode. The *York's* journal, Batavia, July 22nd, records:

the *Duke of Dorset*, Capt. Gilbert, who sail'd from hence for China some time in May, and in his Passage came up with two Manilla Ships that had sail'd from hence two days before him, One of them he took and the other got back to this Place.

The *Duke of Dorset*, Captain T. Gilbert, 495 tons, 28 guns, 100 men, arrived off Macao on July 9th.

Being apprehensive the Mandarines may give some Truble upon account of the Manilha Ship Capt. Gilbert has taken, in case she be brought up to Wampo, she having carried a Rich Cargo from this Country but nine Months agoe, and the Captain of her having Concerns, as we are inform'd, with some of the Merchants of this Place, we desired him to give orders to the Officers he has put on board her Upon no Account to Bring her into this River.

The captured ship came under the notice of the Chinese authorities incidentally, for a reason not connected with her capture.

Nov. 15. We have now concluded all the Merchants accounts and are ready to leave the place, But a Difficulty is made in granting the Grand Chop upon acc[t] of some Tautches (Iron Pans & Kitchen Utensils) which were clandestinely brought ashore from the Manilha Ship Capt[n] Gilbert made Prize of, at Macao, which by the Laws of this Country are forbid under Severe Penaltys to be either Imported or Exported, and we can Neither get our Stores & Necessrys shipp'd off, nor a Chop for a Pilot untill this affair is adjusted.

The import and the export of iron pans have regularly been prohibited in China, and the prohibition was in force for over 130 years after this date; but condonation of the offence might easily have been obtained by the customary methods. Mr. Page, however, adopted a course which might have had dangerous consequences.

Nov. 16. This afternoon the Merchants Texia, Tinqua, Leonqua, Chinqua, Honqua and the Linguist came to the Factory from the Lamhoyen [Namhoi Hien] to require the Capt[n] to appear before him to answer for the affair about the Tautches, the Capt[n] being on board Ship one Mr. Walker a Midshipman up at the Factory agreed to go and Personate him, upon the Merchants assurances that no harm would happen to him, for that the Lamhoyen would only ask a few questions and make a favourable report of the Matter to the Foyen, who only waited for this Judicial form to give Orders to the Hoppo to grant the Grand Chop for our Departure—We gave Mr. Walker his Lesson as the Merchants dictated, That he was Capt[n] of the Ship, That not being able to gain his Passage to China the last season he went to Batavia and staid there some Months, That a Ship being there from Manilha whose Owners were Indebted to the King and not haveing Effects otherwise to pay the Debt, The Ship and Cargoes were Deliver'd in payment, which he Brought to Maccô and sold there for 1,700 tales, and That the Tautches were part of the Goods Deliver'd at Batavia with the Ship; That his Ship being now fully loaden here and the

Season proper for his departure he hoped the Mandereens would give orders for the Grand Chop to pass, & Returned them thanks for all Favours at the Port. Mr. Walker went with the Linguist and the four Merchants that are Security for the Ship to waite on the Lamhoyen, but could not be admitted this Evening.

Nov. 17. Mr. Walker Waited on the Lamhoyen this Morning accompanied by the Linguist and the Merchants, and after six hours returned, and the Linguist says a favourable report will be made to the Foyen, and he will upon that order the Hoppo to Issue out the Grand Chop, but the Foyen being gone to one of the Joss houses the report cannot be made to him till to Morrow. The Lamhoyen, Mr. Walker says, asked many Questions, and among others, If the rest of the Cargoes with the Ship was not sufficient to satisfie what was oweing, why the Tautches were not sold at Batavia, and if he had not Taken the Ship forcibly, to which the Linguist gave such answers as had been concerted by the Merchants.

Nov. 18. The Linguist attended at the Mandereens for the Chop, but the Hoppo has yet no Orders to deliver it.

A special reason for this scrutiny is perhaps to be found in the following entries:

Nov. 18. A Scrutiny has been making for some Days past into the Hoppo's accounts for 6 years by Order of the Foyen who has placed a Mandereen at every Hoppo House to observe what passes and be a Check on the other Officers. The Merchants and Linguists have been obliged to send up many of their Books to be examined.

Nov. 19. The Merchants who deal with the Europeans are revising their old accounts and making new Books, that their Contracts for Gold & for Crimson & Yellow Silks (which are all prohibited to be Exported) should not be discovered.

The crisis soon passed, and at 7 p.m. of November 19th,

the Linguist brought us the Grand Chop, and the Hoppo's Officers are to come in the Morning to pass our Necessaries.

In the above citation will be found a reference to 'the four Merchants that are Security' for the one ship *Duke of Dorset*, this being only the second occasion that Security Merchants are mentioned. In this year's record there is, however, a further reference to the Security Merchants for the Dutch ships. News had come to Canton that the Dutch authorities in Java had cruelly maltreated the Chinese resident in that island, and had 'massacred' many of them; so much so that in 1742 it was recorded that 'there is scarce a China man at Batavia'.

July 25. The Six Merchants who were Security for the Dutch Ships the last year, Rece'd Letters to day from the Supracargoes of those

now arrived at Maccô, desiring they would apply to the Hoppo to gett a Chop for the said Supracargoes to come up to Canton that they may Deliver several Letters they have for the Emperour, the Hoppo and other Mandarines of the place, Giving an Account of the Necessity the Government of Batavia have been under to Treat the Chinese at Batavia with the Severity they have done.

July 28th. The Hoppo ordered the Merchants to acquaint the Dutch Supracargoes that their Ships must Continue at Maccô, where they also might remain with Security, But he could not grant a Chop for their comeing up to Canton, nor promise to Secure them from being Insulted by the Populace here who might Resent the Treatment of their Friends and Relations at Batavia, That he would send one of his Pay de Casas down to Measure their Ships, and they were at Liberty to buy & sell there if they Thought Proper.

July 29. The City of Maccô has addressed the Foyen desireing the Dutch Ships might not be Suffer'd to remain there, Intimating their Fears least they might attempt something against them as they came equipp'd in a warlike Manner, upon which the Foyen sent for all the Hong Merchants and signified to them his Pleasure that the said Ships should come within this River and remain below the Second Barr.

Two weiyuen and two of the linguists were sent to convey the Governor's orders to the supercargoes, who returned answer that they did

not care to venture within Boca Tigris, but desired to remain at Maccô.

Aug. 8. Three of the Merchants went down to Maccô to day with a Message from the Foyen to the Dutch Supracargoes that if they will not Bring their Ships within the River they shall not be permitted to do their Business off Maccô.

Aug. 13. The Merchants being returned from Maccô report that the Dutch will not Venture with their Ships within Boca Tigris but choose to return to Batavia with their Cargoes as soon as the Monsoon will permit in case they cannot have leave to do their Business at Maccô.

Aug. 26. The Foyen Issued out a Chop to day strictly prohibiting any one from having any dealings with the Dutch as they had not thought fit to Accept of his Invitation to bring their Ships within the River.

Sept. 3. The Foyen sumoned the several Hong Merchants to attend him this Morning, and ordered them to go down to Maccô to Invite the Dutch once more to bring their Ships within the River.

Sept. 13. The Merchants return'd from Maccô, haveing deliver'd the Foyen's Message to the Dutch Supracargoes, who have thought fitt at last to accept of his Invitation and are now upon their way from Maccô haveing given Orders for their Ships to make the best of their way to Wampo.

And so ended in a victory for the Chinese their first serious attempt to coerce the foreigners by prohibiting trade with them. On this occasion, however, the storm passed; in the following year,

July 19, 1742. The Dutch Chief was yesterday with the Hoppoe, and had assurances of the same Treatment as his Nation had always met with, upon which he has ordered his Ships to Wampoe.

The Governor, either stirred up by this Dutch question, or in disapproval of the lax methods of the Customs, showed an inclination to restrict the privileges of all the Europeans.

Dec. 28, 1741. We are to inform you that the Fowyen has made very strong efforts towards lessening the Priviledges of Europeans at this Port; such as that of not excusing the Pinnace from calling at the Hoppo Houses and insisting that all Goods sent on board should not only be weighed at our Factory, but at the several Hoppo Houses, & again on board the Ship, & to be opened at either place at the discretion of his Officers. These were thought great hardships, and the Europeans in general joined in the Opposition, refusing to ship off any of their Goods until they could be sure of doing it without being obliged to submit to any other Terms than what has been customary, and that they would not give up the Priviledge of the Flagg on any account. . . . We have dealt with almost all the principal Merchants in the place, and think we have been very well used.

While the supercargoes jealously maintained all their trading privileges, they were careful to give no cause for offence. For many years they had issued particular instructions against the 'running of goods', and in this year we have note of a further precaution enjoined on the captains:

And we Particularly Enjoyn you not to lett any body belonging to you to go a Shooting on any Pretence whatsoever.

The sailors were kept under strict control and not allowed on shore freely and at their own will; and the supercargoes themselves were not given full liberty.

The other [Swedish] Ship we are very sure cannot go for Europe this year. The Supracargoes will, if they can by any means, attempt to stay att Canton, but the Merchants say itt will be Impossible to effect itt, and the most that will be allow'd them, will be to go with their Ship to Maccao.

The *Duke of Dorset's* stock was divided in fixed proportions between six merchants, and realized the following sums :

	Tls.
Lead, 1,257 piculs at 3·80	4,777
Perpetuanoes, 988 pieces at 7·00	6,916
Broadcloth, fine, 24 pieces = 580 yards at 1·10	638
,, ordinary, 72 ,, = 1,620 ,, ,, 0·70	1,134
	13,465

The *York's* stock was divided equally between six merchants :

	Tls.
Lead, 1,348 piculs at 3·80	5,122
Perpetuanoes, 997 pieces at 7·00	6,979
	12,101

Mr. Page remained in Canton after Mr. Plant's departure, and began at once to make his contracts for a lading for the two ships which he hoped would arrive for him ; his contracts made before the arrival of the *Duke of Dorset* were dated all the way from December, 1740, to June, 1741.

The particulars of the shipping at Canton in 1741, so far as known, were as follows :

	English.					
	Company.	*Country.*	*French.*	*Dutch.*	*Swedish.*[1]	*Danish*
No. of Ships	4	1	2	2	4	1
Tonnage	2,250	350	1,450	1,450	2,600	850
Guns	112	12	60	64	120	36
Crews	400	100	300	220	510	150
Tea, black, piculs	7,194	..	8,000	..	8,000	5,000
,, ,, ,,	6,151	..	1,450	..	550	1,400
Raw silk, ,,	28	..	250	..	..	..
Woven silks, p'ces	11,074	..	6,000	..	7,000	7,500
Nankeens, ,,	15,699	..	..	..	..	..
Chinaware, chests	844	..	600	..	800	400
Tutenague, piculs	..	..	..	..	1,800	..

[1] Cargo of 2 ships only.

The private trade of Captain Gilbert of the *Duke of Dorset* was :

	Tls.
Goods (Tutenague 179 piculs, Tea Tls. 2,700, Chinaware Tls. 2,200 &c.)	7,566
Gold, 95 shoes	10,900
	18,466

XXVIII

FROM 1742 TO 1753

For the season 1742 the Court again sent two Councils to Canton: one, with Mr. Thomas Liell as Chief, for the *Defence* direct from London, and the *Onslow* via Bombay; one, with her captain, Augustus Townshend, as Chief, for the *Augusta*. They were to 'keep up a good and friendly Correspondence' with each other. This applied also to the *Princess Mary*, Mr. Pigou's ship from 1741, which arrived at Whampoa on July 1, 1742.

The *Defence* and the *Onslow* disposed of their stock to their own merchants, as follows:

	Tls.
Defence (English products):	
Lead, 1,344 piculs at 4·20	5,644
Long Ells, 1,880 p'ces at 5·80	10,904
Broadcloth, fine, 1,240 yards at 1·65	2,046
,, ord'y, 800 ,, ,, 0·90	720
Onslow (Indian products):	
Cotton, 870 piculs at 6·20	5,394
Sandalwood, 1,350 ,, ,, 9·00	12,150
Putchuck, 200 ,, ,, 50·00	10,000
Olibanum, 164 ,, ,, 9·00	1,476

On board the *Onslow*, as Spanish dollars were not at the moment obtainable at Bombay, the President and Council had put a quantity of different kinds of silver:

Bar silver: invoiced at 99 touch; this was taken by the merchants at from 99½ to 100.

,, ,, invoiced at 74 touch; taken with difficulty at 74.

Nadirees: 'a Persian coin lately introduced by Shaw Nadir since his invasion and subduing the Mogul Empire;' invoiced at 99 touch, Rup. 269. 1. 50 equal to 100 ounces; taken at Canton at full 100 touch.

Rupees: '93½ tale weight of Rupees to be accounted T. 100 Wt Dollar money;' i.e. something better than 100 touch.

Zelottas: invoiced at 61 touch; paid out at Canton at that rate, but the merchants protested, and they were accounted at 57 touch.

Piasters: invoiced at 61 touch: they were presumably accepted at that touch.

Captain Balchen of the *Onslow* died on the way from Bombay to Canton, and his private trade was found to be:

	Rs.	Rs.
Indian produce, value	23,323	
Coined silver, ,,	8,000	
		31,323

In 1742 Commodore Anson arrived at Macao in H.M.S. *Centurion*, 'the only one reigning out of four', with which he had, in September, 1740, left Southampton, and rounded Cape Horn to attack the Spanish possessions in Peru. The *Centurion*, the first King's ship to visit a Chinese port, was in a bad condition and needed to be careened and refitted, and to obtain provisions. The Chinese prohibited her entrance inside the Bogue as contrary to law. Commodore Anson, unwilling to push matters to an extreme, resolved to go to Canton in a Chinese boat, but this was opposed by the Chinese officials at Macao. He then informed them that, if a permit was not given to him within twenty-four hours, he would arm the *Centurion's* boats and open his way to Canton by force; on this permission was given. At Canton the supercargoes advised him not to demand an audience of the Viceroy; and through the merchants he obtained a permit for provisioning and careening his ship. Putting to sea again, he intercepted the annual galleon from Acapulco and Manila, and took her as prize with silver on board to the value of £1,500,000. He took his prize into the river and was met by a demand for the usual measurage dues on the *Centurion* and her prize. The commodore resisted this demand and 'repaired with his boat's crew in their dress jackets' to Canton. There he conferred with the merchants and the supercargoes, and was again persuaded not to demand an audience of the Viceroy; but to this he acceded only on condition that 'the Chinese would let him see that his bread was baked, his meat salted, and his stores prepared with the utmost dispatch'. Even then he was compelled to pay cash with order, before his stores could be put on board, and finally he lost patience.

Delays having occurred in shipping the stores, the Commodore sent a letter by one of his officers demanding an audience of the Viceroy. Two days only had elapsed after writing this letter when a fire broke out at Canton, which destroyed one hundred shops and eleven streets of warehouses, and was only checked by the efforts of the Commodore and the seamen of his ship. In consequence of these signal services the Viceroy appointed the 30th November for an interview, at which the Commodore alluded to the delays that had occurred in his obtaining an audience and also the supplies; he likewise pointed out the vexatious impositions to which the British merchants were subjected in their trade, and hoped that the Viceroy would give orders that the same

should not hereafter occur. To this no direct reply was given. After some time had elapsed, the interpreter stated that he did not believe any reply would be given. The audience closed by the Viceroy wishing the Commodore a prosperous voyage to Europe.[1]

We can imagine the feeling of condescension in the Viceroy's mind when he granted an audience to Commodore Anson as a mark of his gratitude for a signal service rendered; and the haughty surprise with which he heard a mere military officer criticize the fiscal policy of the Celestial Empire. We can also imagine the indignant feelings of so distinguished an officer when his comments were received in cold silence.

There is now a hiatus of eight years in the collection of the supercargoes' diaries preserved in the India Office. In March, 1744, war was declared between England and France. Four King's ships under Commodore Barnet sailed from Portsmouth in May, and in January, 1745, they captured two French ships from Manila, and three, the *Dauphin*, the *Hercules*, and the *Jason*, from Canton, deeply laden with rich cargoes, the nature of which may be judged from the preceding record.[2] In 1743 seven of the French Company's ships had arrived at L'Orient from the Indies, with cargoes consisting mainly of Indian products, but including the following which can be identified as of Chinese provenance:[3]

Tea, 4647 piculs.
Tutenague, 375 piculs.
Nanking Raw Silk, 72 piculs.
Tany Silk, 324 piculs.
Woven silks, 5412 pieces.
Chinaware, 126 chests and 345 parcels.

The English Company prosecuted its trade with Canton, and even developed it, sending thither never less than eight ships in each year from 1747 to 1751. We find their ships sailing in fleets under convoy from London to Fort St. David in the years 1748 and 1749; and in each year from 1748 to the end of the war the Canton ships invariably made Fort St. David a port of call and rendezvous, often sailing thence in company to Canton.

[1] *China, an Outline, &c.*, by Peter Auber, London, 1834, p. 165.
[2] Cf. *antea*, pp. 261, 282.
[3] Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, i, p. 390.

One measure of adjustment to a state of war may be noted. In their instructions to the supercargoes of 1746 and each succeeding year, the Court authorized them to buy any silver taken in prizes by the King's ships which the captains might offer them, to an amount not exceeding £40,000 for each Council, paying for it in six-months bills at the rate of 5*s.* 6*d.* the oz., this being full par value, with 6*d.* added for interest. If the amount so bought was small, it was to be invested in high-priced tea, silk, &c., and brought home in the ships under the Council; but if it was too large for that, then two supercargoes of the Council were to stay behind and use the silver in buying up cheap sweet teas, such as Bohea and Singlo, at the low prices which would prevail after the close of the season.

For this gap in the supercargoes' diaries a few notes have been extracted from the Letter Books, containing copies of the Court's instructions. These contain repeated references to 'the 10 per cent', to 'the 1,950 tales', and to the necessity of combating any combination which might be formed, with explicit instructions to insist on dealing with any and all of the merchants; but ordinarily their value is small, since the facts at Canton are viewed through eyes in London, and instructions are based on reports two years old.

The supercargoes continued to be remunerated in the threefold form. The 'allowance' was ordinarily paid into the Company's stock by the supercargoes from their own capital; but in the instructions for the *Hardwicke*, season 1744, Mr. Lascoe Hide Chief, the three supercargoes having allowances of £2,250, £1,750, and £1,000 respectively, these amounts were lent by the Court at respondentia[1] for thirty months, at 26 per cent. interest.

In 1746 the ship *Walpole*, from Bombay to Canton and London, was 'placed under Mr. Frederick Pigou because of his disappointments and sufferings in the voyage of the *Princess Mary* (1742), and because the *London* (1745) lost her passage'. What had happened in connexion with the *Princess Mary* is not recorded.

The *London* loaded in the season 1746; and Mr. Pigou was again at Canton as Chief in 1748.

[1] Respondentia was a loan on the security of a ship's lading, repayment being conditional on the safe arrival of the cargo at port of destination.

In each year from 1748 the Court sent ships, either four or five, from London to Canton by way of Fort St. David, and in addition 'several others [never less than four] from our Indian Settlements'. These last were placed in rotation under one of the Councils, either two or three, sent from London; the first to arrive under Mr. A's Council, the second under Mr. B's, the third under Mr. C's, the fourth under Mr. A's, and so on.

There are further references to Mr. James Flint. In the instructions to Mr. Thomas Liell for the season 1746:

> We have directed Mr. James Flint to take passage on the *Tavistock* as Linguist to all our Supra Cargoes in general, and to assist in our affairs as occasion offers, who must be entertained at our Factories during your stay, and be allowed besides ninety tales a ship.

We find him in 1750 living in Mr. Misenor's factory, for which he seems to have acted as 'comprador', in charge of factory expenses.

	Tls.
Paid Mr. Flint the Hon^ble^ Company's Allowances as Interpreter	
90 Tales for each of our three Ships	270
D^o^ money advanced by him for our House Rent . . .	200

From not less than ten ships in that year he must have received at least 900 taels.

In 1746 the *Onslow* was dispatched to Banjarmassin to load pepper for Canton. The Dutch had then asserted rights of sovereignty over that part of Borneo, and incited the King to imprison the two supercargoes, Mr. William May and Mr. John Swynfen, and to refuse to trade. The supercargoes both died from the effects of their imprisonment, but the captain ultimately obtained the release of his ship and permission to take a small lading. In 1750 the Court dispatched the *Portfield* on the same round, 'for the express purpose of asserting our right to buy pepper at Banjar-massin'.

In 1750, as the *Grantham* and the *Duke of Cumberland* were sailing in company after dark on January 15th, in latitude 15° 13′ N., they saw breakers ahead and let go their anchors. The *Duke of Cumberland* was cast away and became a total loss with her stock of £48,000, and all on board were taken prisoners with her supercargoes, Mr. John Misenor and Mr. Hillary Torriano. The *Grantham* clawed off the next morning and stood

by for three days, and Mr. Palmer, the Chief on board, was then requested by a note from Mr. Misenor to sail away and keep out of sight, in order to convince his captors that he and the ship's company were without friends and resources; but Mr. Palmer was to go to Goree and arrange for his ransom through the Governor of that French settlement. The Governor readily promised his good offices, and 3,000 oz. of dollars were left in his hands; Mexico dollars were offered, but the Governor stated that 'the natives would not like them', and 'round dollars' were obtained from the captain of the *Grantham*. The ship then sailed for the mouth of the Gambia, where she was joined by Messrs. Misenor and Torriano on February 11th. Mr. Torriano was sent by a passing ship back to England, and Mr. Misenor went on in the *Grantham* to Fort St. David and Canton.

Mr. Benjamin Robins was a passenger on the *Grantham*, on a mission to inspect the fortifications at the English settlements in India, and especially the Artillery Company; and to report thereon to the Court. At Goree it was thought advisable not to draw the French Governor's attention to him or to his mission, and he was introduced as one of the supercargoes.

Parliament had reduced the duty on Chinese raw silk to the same level as Italian silk, and the Company resolved to venture on a quantity. On September 17th, two days after arriving at Canton,

In Conjunction with Mr. Misenor we contracted with Texia, Suqua, & Beau Coiqua in equal shares for 400 Piculs of the best Nankeen Raw Silk at 175 Tales ℔ Pic. clear of all Charges on board, to be delivered in One hundred days. The Merchants not having so large a quantity of Silk at Canton must send for it out of the Country, which obliges us to advance them 80 ℔ Ct. thereon, which was the least we could bring them to. At the same time we sold the whole of our Lead and Perpetts to the three Merchants above named, Lead at 4 Tales ℔ Pic., Perpetts at 7 Tales ℔ Pce.

In 1750 we have also a second reference to opium, which is again spoken of as being absolutely prohibited, though no official document to that effect has ever been produced.

The Merchants have also informed us that an Officer belonging to one of the English Ships [1] has offered some opium to Sale; as this is

[1] If this is a fact, it is more likely to have been a country ship than one of the Company's.

a Commodity most strictly prohibited at this Port, we desire that you will make enquires whether any Officer or other person belonging to your Ship is possessed of any, and in case they should, that you will use the most effectuall means to prevent its being landed here, which might occasion very great Embarassment to our Hon^ble^ Masters affairs.

There was no change for the better in the grievances under which the Company suffered, notwithstanding the repeated injunctions of the Court to resist them and to procure their removal.

The Office of Hoppo being executed this year not by the Tsongtouk but by a Mandareen appointed under him for the care of the Dutys only, we were this morning admitted, agreable to the old Custom, to pay our Respects to him. On this Occasion all we could ask was the Continuation of our old Priviledges; for as to any Abatement in the Port Charges, we are satisfied that nothing less than a formal Application from our Hon^ble^ Masters to the Tsongtouk or perhaps to the Emperours Court will be sufficiently prevalent to ease the Trade in this Imposition established by so long a Custom; and therefore we did not attempt to sollicit what there was not the least probability of succeeding in.

The Security Merchant had become well established by 1750. Formerly the payments for measurage and the 1,950 taels were made to and through the linguist, but they were now made through the Security Merchants, and the only payments recorded as made to the linguist are two: one of 50 taels, 'the Customary Present' to himself, the other of 25 taels, 'Do. to the under Linguists'. The following extracts show the position now taken by the Security Merchant, the supercargoes of the *Prince Edward* having arrived at Canton on September 9th:

Sept. 15. After having had some trouble about the Securitys for the *Prince Edward*, several Merchants having refused same, at last after applying Ourselves to Beau Khiqua he generously consented thereto, at the same time Logqua was appointed Linguist.

Sept. 24. The Merchants who are Securitys for the English Ships having made a Complaint to all the Supra Cargoes in general that by the Indiscretion of bringing up a small box or two of Sample of Glass Ware in one of the Pinnaces when the Flag was hoisted, they very much fear being bro^t^ into a great deal of Trouble with the Tsongtouk, & that they are still more apprehensive on account of an Information that some Opium has been offered to Sale here by an Englishman. . . .

Oct. 15. Paid into Beau Coiqua's hands in part of the *P. Edward's* Measurage, he being Security for that Ship. . . .

1751, Aug. 15. Suqua & Beau Khaiqua agreed to be Securities for the Ships *Caesar & Essex*.

Since the abortive attempt in 1720 to form a gild or combination to engross the whole foreign trade,[1] there had been no similar attempt, until, in 1750, there was an effort to forestall or corner Hyson tea.

As to Hyson we believe it will come [in 1751] on very easy terms; the Nankin People who bring it hither having severely suffered by keeping up their prices last year [1750]. As we were the only Buyers of this Tea towards the Close of the Season, and the quantity at Market greatly exceeding our demands, it was reasonable to suppose it would be sold at a moderate rate; but in opposition to us a Combination was suddenly formed and the only conditions offered were that we might buy two thousand Tubs, but no less at the rate of 50 Tails the Pecul; in this Resolution they obstanately persisted, & the consequence was that we left every Tub upon their hands. They afterwards sold to so great a loss that we dare say they are effectually cured of such Projects. . . . We can't acquit the Beau [Beau Coiqua, Security Merchant] since in our contests with the Hyson Merchants he seems to have set the Hon^ble^ Company's business at defyance. His conduct will not suffer us to think otherwise, as he was the Principal Encourager of the above mentioned Combination, cajoling the Leaders of it with Assurances that our Ships could not be dispatched without the Hyson Tea, and that they might oblige us to pay any price they should think proper to impose on us.

Beau Coiqua seems to have cumulated the functions of confidential agent of one of the Company's ships, and member of the combination which attempted to force prices up. This fell short of the Co-Hong of later days, but has the appearance of being its precursor.

The Company had not again adopted the plan tried with Mr. Naish in 1730, of leaving a Chief to stay over from one season to the next; but the French did constantly, and even regularly.

Mr. de la Barre the French Chief Supra Cargo who hath resided here many Years, having applyed to us for our Consent to his Passage on the Ship *Prince Edward*; we readily acquiesced, his stay here being far from an Advantage to the European Trade in general.

The English Company did not adopt this method until 1770; but in 1750 they designated the two Chiefs at Canton that year, Mr. Misenor and Mr. Palmer, to stop over in the *True Briton*, to take her with a cargo to Bombay in the winter, and to return with her in 1751. None of the ships of that year, however,

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 163.

except the *True Briton*, were consigned to them. At the close of the season of 1750 Mr. Misenor's Council handed over their surplus of 14,825 taels, and Mr. Palmer's Council their surplus of 15,203 taels, to Messrs. Misenor and Palmer to be invested in gold or raw silk.

Gold was in 1750 not at any time below 140, and at that price no investment was made. In 1751 one of the three regular Councils bought 1,465 taels weight—'all we have been able to procure since our arrival'—at 143 for 93 touch and 140 for 90 touch, and shipped it to Fort St. David; the transactions of the other two Councils and of Messrs. Misenor and Palmer are not recorded.

AVERAGE PRICES AT CANTON, 1751.

IMPORTS.

Goods.		*Cost.* £ s. d.	*Sold for.* Tls.	*Profit percentage of gross.*
Cloth,	℔ yard	9 7	1·800	25·47
Camblets,	,, ,,	3 2	0·500	4·75
Long Ells,	,, piece	2 1 6	7·500	20·01
Callimancoes,	,, ,,	3 9 1	14·782	32·59
Lead,	,, picul	14 4	4·500	75·05
Tin,	,, ,,	..	14·000	..

EXPORTS.

		Tls.
Tea, Bohea,	℔ picul	15·50
Pekoe,	,, ,,	24·00
Congho,	,, ,,	21·57
Souchong,	,, ,,	31·94
Singlo,	,, ,,	20·66
Hyson,	,, ,,	41·13
Tutenague,	,, ,,	6·00
Quicksilver,	,, ,,	60·00
Sugar,	,, ,,	3·05
Sugar Candy,	,, ,,	5·05

The shipping at Canton in 1753 was 5 French, 6 Dutch, 3 Swedish, 2 Danish, 1 Prussian, 2 English country ships and 8 of the English Company. The English Company loaded on six ships 1,192 piculs of raw silk at 175 taels, advancing 160 taels on making the contract, delivery in 110 to 130 days. This contract was made with Puankhequa. With him was at the same time made a contract for 1,900 pieces of woven silks and 1,500 pieces of nankeens. Contracts for tea were made with several merchants, among them 'Suqua (or Chetqua)', who was

EUROPEAN TRADE AT CANTON, 1750 AND 1751.

	English.		*French.*		*Dutch.*		*Swedish.*		*Danish.*	
	1750.	*1751.*	*1750.*	*1751.*	*1750.*	*1751.*	*1750.*	*1751.*	*1750.*	*1751.*
Ships: No.	7	10 [1]	4	2	4	4	2	2	2	1
Tons	..	4,700	..	1,800	..	3,150	..	1,590	..	950
Guns	..	..	..	72	..	122	..	64	..	28
Crews	..	..	..	380	..	430	..	275	..	204
Imports:										
Cloths, pieces	1,207	..	1,400	..	258	..	351	..	370	..
Camblets, ,,	1,065	..	2,000	..	544	..	..	..	..	..
Perpets, ,,	..	..	..	..	2,290	..	..	..	200	..
Lead, piculs	7,908	..	..	..	8,055	..	2,007	..	6,357	..
Blue, ,,	..	..	300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Iron, ,,	..	..	530	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ginseng, ,,	..	..	40	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cotton, ,,	..	..	..	..	1,859	..	..	..	..	..
Tin, ,,	..	..	..	..	9,768	..	..	..	..	..
Pepper, ,,	..	..	..	..	24,696	..	..	..	..	..
Exports:										
Chinaware, chests	789	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tea, piculs	21,543	..	14,944	..	9,422	..	12,629	..	12,304	..
Raw Silk, ,,	586	..	200	..	198	..	13	..	..	..
Woven Silks, pieces	5,640	..	2,530	..	7,460	..	1,790	..	809	..
Nankeens, ,,	5,740	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tutenague, piculs	..	..	..	..	3,450	..	..	..	..	..
Rhubarb ,,	..	..	155	..	38	..	9	..	123	..

[1] 7 Company, 3 country.

Security Merchant for the *Royal Duke*, Mr. Thomas Liell Chief; with him a cross contract was made, he selling 1,500 piculs of Bohea at Tls. 16·50, and buying the *Royal Duke's* olibanum, 57 piculs, at 7·00, and sandalwood, 1,800 piculs, at 12·50. This contravened the orders of the Court, but the Chinese merchants would by this time never consent to buy English woollens or lead, and often refused to buy Indian produce, in any other way; and on this occasion Suqua 'pretended that in making the contract he did the Company a favour'.

The *Royal Duke* furnishes an illustration of the difficulties encountered in taking bar silver as part of the ship's stock.

Weigh'd Capt[n] Cuming being present the Bar Silver by the *Royal Duke* by our Tale Weights, not having Troy Weights, being Tls. 54,315·100. The Weight in the Invoyce is 3,844 Lb. 11 oz. 14 dwt. Troy equal to Tls. 38,195 which must be the reduced Weight to Dollar fineness. But there is not the least Direction either in the Invoyce or letter from Bombay concerning the Value of these Barrs many of which are without any mark whatsoever.

According to the supposition of the supercargoes, the invoiced weight, 46,139·55 oz. (at Tls. 100 = 120·8 oz.) = 38,195·115 taels.

Taking this as silver of 100 touch and reducing it to dollar silver 94 touch, we have 40,633 taels; and the actual weight of 54,315·100 taels indicates an average touch of 74·8. Pieces were cut from each bar and submitted through several merchants to several refiners, and the following are some of the results:

Bars.	*Europe mark.*	*Corresponding to China touch.*	*Actual by Assay.*
2	10–22	85·0728	93
1	10–11	84·878	92·5
1	10–18	85·0014	90
1	10–20	85·0369	90
1	11–19	93·4878	99
1	No mark	..	56·3
1	10–22	85·0728	93
1	10–19	85·0196	92
1	No mark	..	86·5
1	No mark	..	57
2	No mark	..	56·3
1	10–2	84·7199	87
1	10–13	84·914	88
22	No mark	..	56·3
1	No mark	..	95
1	No mark	..	84
1	No mark	..	59

One payment of Tls. 24,263 to Puankhequa was effected by 8 chests containing 61 bars weighing from about 90 to about 180 taels each, and of the following touches: 27 at 57 touch; 3 at 82; 1 each at 82½, 83½, 87, 88, 93, 98; 2 each of 86 and 91; 4 each at 89, 92; 5 at 99; 8 at 100. There was still a discrepancy between the invoice and the out-turn, even after the merchants had agreed to take each bar at one higher than the assay, and this was adjusted by arrangement.

Having weighed all the Barr Silver & reduced it into Dollar money computing it one touch higher than the Refiners allow'd it which Puankhiqua had agreed to, found there would be a Loss in the whole of Tls. 270·537 wherefore again spoke to Khiqua & he consented to take it according to the Invoyced value.

Suqua also consented to the same arrangement.

XXIX

GAP FROM 1754 TO 1774

We have now another gap in the records, of twenty-one years, from 1754 to 1774. One matter in that period which may be noted is the relation between the export of tea from Canton and the outbreak of the American Revolution. As we have seen, down to 1745 the English trade was not in excess of the French trade, nor of the Dutch. During the wars with France, the English Company showed greater energy in prosecuting the China trade, but even then its trade did not exceed the volume of all its other competitors together. With the return of peace in 1763 the East India Companies of continental Europe resumed their activities, and the total shipments from Canton of the French, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish Companies again assumed their former importance, to combat which the English Company increased its activity.

In the trade of Canton tea had by this time come to be of the greatest importance, and of this the shipments by the four continental Companies greatly exceeded those by the English Company. But in the four countries engaged in this trade it is notorious that tea has never been—is not now and was not then—a popular beverage; and the greater part of the continental importation was smuggled into England, the high duty levied there being an incentive to the 'free trade'. In the American colonies to the high duty was added the colonists' rooted dislike of any form of restraint; the American colonies in the eighteenth century were as great consumers of tea as were the Australians in succeeding centuries; and they preferred the cheaper smuggled tea to the dearer tea supplied by the English Company—for the heavy English duty was levied at the sales in London, and was not refunded on re-export to the colonies. The average annual shipments of tea from Canton in the four years 1769–72, compared with the three years 1773–5, were as follows, the dates of

transactions on the European markets being in all cases one year later:

	1769–72. lb.	*1773–5.* lb.
By English ships	10,619,900	3,149,300
By French, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish .	12,379,000	14,110,800
By French and Dutch	7,523,000	8,418,000

In 1773 the English Company was terribly overstocked with tea, and was on the verge of bankruptcy; and, to relieve it, the ministers of George III obtained the authority of Parliament to give a drawback for the entire amount of the English duty; but, in order to assert their right to tax, they imposed a very moderate duty of 3*d.* a lb. to be collected at the port of discharge in the colonies. The result was the Boston Tea Party of December 16, 1773.

Other leading events of those twenty-one years may be briefly summarized from Auber's account:

A. D. 1753. The Court anxiously endeavoured to re-open a trade at Limpo, and gave particular instructions as to the course of proceeding. Mr. Flint, who had been appointed linguist to the factory at Canton, was ordered to accompany the mission to Limpo. With the view of promoting the acquisition of the Chinese language, the Court sent out two young men to study it at Canton at the Company's expense.

A. D. 1754. In this year, such were the grievances of which the supracargoes complained, that they determined to prevent any more of the ships coming up to Whampoa. On this being intimated to the Tsontock, he instructed the Hoppo to give the supracargoes all the assistance in his power, and stated that he should be ready to hear any complaints which they might feel it necessary to make.

A discussion took place at the same time with reference to the practice of naming security merchants for each ship, a practice which, it was stated, had not existed above twenty years, and to which the merchants themselves very strongly objected, as they thereby became responsible to the government for the duties and customs on all the goods imported in such ships, whether purchased by the security merchant himself or any other person. In like manner, he was also accountable for the duties on export cargoes, and he became subject to demands for curiosities brought out in the ship; so that he was either impoverished, or the Company charged excessive prices for the commodities of trade.

An interview was obtained with the Tsontock on the 29th July,

who received the supracargoes very courteously, but refused to give them a written answer to their application that the merchants might be released from security; and on the 9th August two merchants were named for each ship, notwithstanding their entreaties to be excused; but they were informed, any deficiency would be levied upon the whole body.

At this time seamen were permitted by the local authorities to land and walk within certain limits on Dane's Island, Tls. 100 being paid for each ship.

A. D. 1755. In the following year some edicts were published, which although containing points favourable to the Europeans trade, confined all dealings to the Hong merchants, and excluded small merchants and shop-keepers.

On an appeal to the Tsontock an edict was issued, allowing the trade with shop-keepers in small matters, and they were to become jointly and separately security for the duties of the whole number. The people from the ships were interdicted from shooting with fowling-pieces, and the commanders and officers, when at Canton, were to come directly to the Factory.

The subject of security merchants was again discussed, but no relief obtained.

This closes the period to which trade was permitted with the eastern ports of the Chinese empire.

A. D. 1757. In this year the Emperor determined to confine the foreign trade to Canton. In order to effect this object, he not only prohibited Europeans resorting to Chusan, Limpo, or Amoy, but imposed double duty at each of those places, and rigorously enforced the landing of guns, arms, ammunition, and sails.

The local officers at Canton had considerable influence with the authorities at Pekin, and as they had experienced the advantages derived from the increase of the foreign trade, they were naturally anxious to monopolize it.

Previously to the knowledge of this order reaching England, the Court of Directors had determined, as already observed, on attempting a more regular trade with Limpo and Chusan. For this purpose they sent out particular instructions to the supracargoes to prosecute a voyage to those ports, and joined in the mission Mr. Flint, then in China, upon whose representation the plan was carried into execution.

The project met with strong opposition at Canton from the Tsontock, who was stated to have a decided preference for the 'Cantoneers'.

Mr. Flint was to obtain leave to reside some time at Nankin, accompanied by Thomas Bevan, who had been sent out in 1753 by the Company to learn the language. He was to direct his

attention to trade in general, but more particularly to the article of silk.

Some large looking-glasses had been provided as presents for the Emperor, and were to be landed at Limpo; but the Court having received advice stating the little prospect there was of prosecuting the trade successfully, abstained from sending any ships.

A vessel had been dispatched there in 1757 with Mr. Flint as supracargo: but he could not get even a supply of common necessaries, still less carry on any trade.

A. D. 1759. On the 6th December 1759 the Tsontock at Canton desired to see Mr. Flint, who had returned from his mission, for the purpose of communicating to the supracargoes the Emperor's orders relating to the Company's affairs. The supracargoes desired to accompany him into the city, which was allowed. On arriving at the Tsontock's palace, the merchants proposed their going in one at a time. The supracargoes said, that as it was on the Company's affairs, and Mr. Flint being summoned, they must all be present. After some altercation, they imagined it to be agreed upon that they should go together. Upon hearing Mr. Flint called they also went, and were received by a mandarin at the first gate, and proceeded through two courts with seeming complaisance from the officers in waiting. On coming to the gate of the inner court of the palace, their swords were taken from them; they were then hurried on (even forced) to the Tsontock's presence, and under pretence of compelling them to pay homage after the Chinese custom, they were at last thrown down; when the Tsontock, seeing the supracargoes resolute, and determined on no account to submit to their base humiliations, ordered his people to desist. He then desired Mr. Flint to advance to him, when he pointed to an order which he said was the Emperor's edict, for his banishment to Macao for three years, at the expiration of which he was to return to England never more to visit China. This punishment was to be inflicted on him for his going to Limpo, after his imperial majesty had positively ordered that no ship should trade there. It was stated, that the man who confessed to have written the petition in Chinese (which Mr. Flint carried with him and delivered at Tien Sing) was to be beheaded that day for treacherously encouraging such a step.

On the 9th December, the French, Danes, Swedes, and Dutch met at the English factory, where they agreed to tell the merchants, who were then present, that all nations protested against the Tsontock for his behaviour to the Company's supracargoes on the 6th, and that they 'should acquaint their different companies of his unwarrantable proceedings, when they doubted

not of a method being found out, and measures taken to make it known to the Emperor, who they were convinced would avenge the affront put upon them, as they were fully persuaded he was well disposed to favour them '.

Mr. Flint was kept in close confinement at a place within a league of Macao, the Chinese not permitting letters to pass between him and the supracargoes, and was not released until November 1762, nearly three years from the period of his first imprisonment.

A. D. 1760. The Court determined to send out a special mission, in order to settle the differences which had arisen between the Chinese and supracargoes, who could not with propriety present any address from the Court to the authorities at Canton, since the attempt to trade with Limpo. The person chosen for the purpose was Captain Skottowe, commander of the Company's ship *Royal George*.

He was charged with a letter from the Court of Directors to the Tsontock.

In the hints drawn out for the conduct of that officer, he was not to be seen in the shops or purchasing china-ware. That in any goods he might wish to purchase, he was to send for the merchants and not to go after them, and never to appear in undress in the streets, or at home when he received visits.

He was to be called *Mr.* Skottowe, not *Captain*, and it was to be given out that he was the brother to his Majesty's under secretary of state, who had the honour to write the King's letters.[1]

The Court's address requested the liberation of Mr. Flint, who they stated was a British subject as well as a servant of the Company ; and after expressing their mortification at their exclusion from Limpo, pointed out the exactions and grievances from which they desired relief, viz.

1st. The 1950 tales.

2nd. The six per cent. on imports, and the two per cent. on all silver paid the Hoppo.

3rd. To be allowed to pay their own duties, and not through the merchants who are styled securities, whom they charged with applying it to their own purposes.

4th. That the Hoppo should always hear the representations of the supracargoes, and that an appeal might be made by them direct to the Tsontock.

The result of the mission was in no way satisfactory, not one of the points being conceded.

A. D. 1762. The Court adverted to this in 1762, and to the access promised at all times to the Hoppo, of which the supra-

[1] Captain Skottowe's brother was employed under Government.

cargoes were to avail themselves, and they were directed never to lose an opportunity of freeing the trade as far as possible. The Court then remarked on the co-hong which had been established two seasons, a combination that had lowered the price of the Company's imports at Canton; and although the same was believed to be contrary to the Emperor's orders, no relief could be obtained, as all representations were obliged to go through the local authorities, who were interested in defeating them.

The Court desired that quarrels and frays should be strictly guarded against between the sailors and the natives, and especially with the French sailors at Canton, hostilities then existing between England and France.

At the instance of the Royal Society, the Court sent out some queries, for the purpose of ascertaining the affinity between the Egyptian and Chinese writing, it being conceived that they were in fact the same language.

In November the Court remarked on the continued existence of the Hong confederacy, and urged the supracargoes to pay constant attention to it and to other hardships; at the same time directing 'that in all their proceedings, pacific and conciliatory measures only were to be observed, and the utmost care taken not to give any just reason for umbrage to the Chinese government'.

A. D. 1764. His Majesty's ship *Argo* having arrived in China with treasure, proceeded to Whampoa to refit. The mandarins insisted upon measuring her. The supracargoes stated that the commander would not consent, and that they had no power over a king's ship. Captain Affleck remonstrated in a letter to the Tsontock, and demanded to be put upon the same footing as Commodore Anson. In this state of things the merchants consequently refused to become security for the Company's ships, which were not permitted to unload. The Tsontock acquainted the supracargoes through one of his officers, that he looked upon them as managers for the English business, and as such expected they should comply with the custom of the port. Discussions were continued, and the supracargoes offered, in an address to the Tsontock and Hoppo, to pay to the Emperor the same duties for the *Argo* as were paid on the largest of the Company's ships. The Hoppo stated that he should proceed to Whampoa for the purpose of measuring the ship, and if it was refused she should leave the port. The Tsontock observed, that the king's ship had brought money, but that Commodore Anson's ship was driven in by stress of weather. He asked what they meant by offering to pay the measurage in lieu of the ship's being measured, and stated that it was contrary to his duty to consent to it; adding, that if it was not done, the supracargoes

should leave the country, and the merchants be bambooed and banished Canton.

The merchants represented their situation to the supracargoes. They offered to return the money advanced on their contracts, as they were satisfied the Tsontock would persevere, and entreated the supracargoes to persuade Captain Affleck to consent. To this, after a strong representation of the danger in which the trade was placed, Captain Affleck acceded, and the ship was measured, four months having been occupied in the discussion upon the subject.

The Court, adverting to the stoppage of the trade on account of the *Argo* frigate, stated, they had been informed that opium had been shipped on her and other private trade; and desired a full account to be sent home of the matter, as opium was prohibited, and the importation might be most detrimental to the Company's interests. The Company's ships were alone exempted from search on account of opium.

The possibility of importing tea plants to Fort Marlborough, and the encouragement of the silk trade in China, were points particularly noticed by the Court in their orders to the supracargoes.

A. D. 1769. A Chinese having been wounded in an affray with some of the seamen of the *Lord Camden*, a chop was refused for the ship's clearance until it was ascertained that the wounded man was out of danger.

A. D. 1770. In this year the Court of Directors resolved that the supracargoes should reside permanently in China, which practice has been continued to the present time [1834].

A. D. 1771. The Court were informed that the supracargoes had succeeded in their endeavours to procure the dissolution of the co-hong, which was effected by the Tsontock's edict of the 13th February. It cost Puankhequa 100,000 tales, which the Company repaid him.

JOURNAL OF MR. FLINT'S VOYAGE TO LIMPO AND TIEN-TSIN IN THE *SUCCESS* SNOW. 1759.

June 13th. Saild in the morning from Macao in Company with the *Pitt*, and that day left her among the Islands.

21st. At noon the Mandarine of a Man of War Junk, came on board of us, I told him there would be one or two Ships this year for to Trade, and I was come first for to stay for them. Got to Kitto point at night.

25th. In the morning we intended to get under way and go to Tinhoy, but was prevented by the weather being foggy, and by two of the Men of War Junks.

In the afternoon there came two of the Military Mandarines with one civil Magistrate from Chusan with orders from the Chong ping and Hien, to send from the province instantly, as being the Emperor's Orders, not to allow of any Europe Vessel to come to Che-Kiang, for that Canton is the port, they are to reside to, and that the trade with Europeans is entirely forbid at this port. I told them that I was come first in this small Vessel, to deliver a Petition to the Tsong-toc and Mandarines of Che-Kiang, for them to represent to the Emperor the grievances we lay under at Canton and I delivered them one of the petitions, but they refused to take it, and told me it did not signify, for go I must directly for their orders were so strict, that no excuse could permit of our staying that night. I told them that it was impossible to go to Canton against the Winds, and we had no provisions for such a Voyage. They said they could not help it for they could not let us have any at this place, and we must go somewhere else for to get it, nor would they allow us to send our Boat ashore for water. But they would send for water out of each of their Junks that were come to see us out, among the Islands.

After much persevering they agreed to take our Petition and send it to the Tsongtoc.

As I found by their behaviour and the Chong pings orders to these Mandarines were so positive that nothing could be done, I thought it was the best way for to leave them by fair means, for we were but in a poor way of making any defence against them, and for to have any disturbance it might appear against us at Tien-Tsin, where I was to go if I could not do anything at Limpo. We were obliged to get our anchor up that Evening and go as far as the tide would drive us. The Junks kept us in sight for three days, till we had got near the Queesan Islands.

July 10th. Arrived at the entrance of the river of Tien-Tsin, a little Mandarine from the Forts came on board, who would not allow of vessels going further into the river, till he should have orders for it. He went directly to acquaint the Military Mandarine, who clears and imports all Vessels that go up this river, there being no cevil Magistrate living near. In the Evening the Chong-Yaw came on board and I desired, he would let me have a Boat to carry me to Town for I had affairs of consequence to present to the Taw-yea. He told me he could not allow of the Vessel or any body going any further, and whatever I had to say or do I must acquaint him first, that he might make his representations to the Mandarines of Tien-Tsing, for he could see that we were not come to trade. I still insisting upon having a Boat. Upon our long discourse we found that we had been in each others Company at Canton. Finding that I could not get

a boat I at last told him what I was come upon. He then told me the success of my affairs depended all upon his first representations, good or bad. I asked him what he meant by that, for I was unacquainted at this place and should rely solely on him, and that he must put me in the most proper way to go about it. He said one way would be very easy, that he would represent to the Mandarines of Tien-Tsin of our being here, and then they will send a cevil Magistrate on Board, to whom I must acquaint the whole of what I came there for, and that I might be very sure they will not send for me up to them and as they will not choose to Affront the Tsong-toc of Canton, they will represent to Court that the Vessel was drove there by stress of weather, and they will take care no body should come near us, and at last shall be obliged to go back as we came. I told him it could not be so, for if they would not make a proper representation to the Emperor, I would go as far as the foot of the great wall, and he must take care of himself for I should acquaint them of my having been here. He said it would be just the same thing there for that the Mandarines all abide by each other. I then asked what I could do. He said he could make a general representation, to the cevil and Military at Tien-Tsin, and to the Mandarine who is messenger of all the Salt, who can represent any thing to the Emperor, and to the Tsongtoc and the other Mandarines, that by making these representations to so many different courts, they for fear of each other will not think of keeping it, from the Emperor. But by doing this he was flying in the face of all the Mandarines and should run the risque of being turned out and that he must have 5000 Tales if he did it. I told him it was a great deal of money for such a thing and that he must abate much for that I had not so much in the Vessel.

At last upon his going away he told me that I must determine by morning and that he would not run the risque of his posts for less than 2500 Tales, and that he would send his boat for me in the morning to go to his house.

As we had been at so much trouble in bringing it about, we should not loose our ends for a little money, for the Mandarins at Canton would be quite up and there would be no bearing them hereafter.

July 19th. I went in the Mandarines boat to his house which was about 10 miles from the Ship, and agreed with him for 2000 Tales, to deliver him 2000 Dollars that day and the rest upon our going away. That he should make those representations so that I should have an opportunity of laying my petitions before the Taw-ya at Tien-Tsin, and that he should give me a Chop to sett out the next morning myself. In the afternoon his people came on board, and I delivered them the 2000 Dollars.

20th. In the morning about six o'clock there came on board a Tartar Mandarine, by order of the Tu-Tung who resides at the head of 3000 soldiers, and twelve men of War Junks, about 20 miles from where the Vessel lays, with orders to enquire about our coming to this place. As soon as I had acquainted him he left us. At 9 o'clock I sett out for Tien-Tsin by water, the City where the Towya and Chong Ping resides, and where I shall deliver my petition.

21st. At 11 this morning I arrived at Tien-Tsin, where was a Mandarine waiting for me at the landing place. I was desired to walk into the Custom house, about an hour after, the Foo sent for me to a Josshouse he received me very cevilly, and asked a great many questions, and insisted that I should deliver my petition to him for he was sent by the great Mandarine, who is appointed for the management of the Salt and that he would present my petition to court directly, and told me that I must stay in the boat till he carried it to the Salt Mandarine, that he would order provisions and every thing that I should want. There was directly soldiers ordered to keep the Mob off which there was great need of for it was very troublesome. In the afternoon the Towya sent for me, and I delivered one of the petitions to him.

After two hours conversation, he appointed some rooms in a Joss house for me to live in, till they could have orders from court; and desired that I would not want anything, for there was orders to supply me with any thing, I should ask for, all my things were brought from the boat to the Joss house directly. The Hien came to see that I was well settled; all the Mandarines behaved vastly cevil and much like Gentlemen.

22nd. Stayed at home all the day, but was pestered much by the Mob, it was as much as 20 soldiers could keep them from rushing into the rooms.

23rd. Stayed at home till the 27th.

27th. The Hien came this morning under pretence of paying me a visit, and took down all the peoples names who were on board the Snow; he expected the Emperors answer would be back in a day or two, and desired I would not want for anything.

28th. The Foo came this morning to pay me a visit and we talked a great deal about the business I came on. He wanted to find out if any of the Chinese at Limpo were any ways consulted about our taking this method of making our complaints. I told him that no Chinese or any body but ourselves were the least acquainted where I was going. He had sent on a large parcel of fruit before he came, and when he was going away he ordered one of his servants to stay in the Joss House to receive my Commands if I should want anything. At 6 at Night the Hien came to me,

and told me that the Emperors orders were come and that he had ordered a great Mandarin to go to Canton to enquire into our Affair, and that I must prepare to sett out after him in the morning.

I went directly to the Towya who told me the same as the Hien had done before, but that there was no orders about the Snows sailing, so that she must stay till further orders, but there would soon be orders about her. After I had got back to the Joss house, the Hien came again, and told me that orders were gone down for the Hoppo at Canton to be turned out and all his effects to be confiscated, and the reason of my going by land was to make appear what I have represented to be true. I wrote to Captain Evers to acquaint him of my going by land and that there was no orders for his sailing, though he might soon expect them, and that he would be the best judge what time would be the properest for sailing, though the middle of September will be the soonest he can leave this place, as the wind will be till then much easterly, and when he sailed to make the best of his way to Canton.

29th. In the morning the Mandarine who had made the representations, sent a person to me for the rest of the money that I was to pay him, but as I had not sufficient, he agreed to receive it at Canton by a person that he would send.

In this period we have the following—

GENERAL STATE OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS AT CHINA MADE UP BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE OF SECRECY OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1773.

[Wissett, *Compendium of East Indian Affairs*, vol. i.]

	1762.	*1763.*	*1764.*	*1765.*	*1766.*	*1767.*	*1768.*	*1769.*	*1770.*	*1771.*
RECEIPTS.	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Received on several Accounts	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,520	..	..	1,136
Bond Debt contracted in the Year	..	..	39,500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Profits on Europe Goods	12,897	30,465	22,893	25,560	12,477	14,815	21,932	27,598	40,713	72,599
Bills of Exchange on England	2,025	9,923	16,706	58,545	..	..	..	41,743	85,522	135,857
Remittances from other Settlements	101,444	201,245	233,542	312,386	420,964	234,472	209,124	33,889	153,404	99,715
Amount of Cargoes from Europe	121,435	65,835	81,156	428,951	390,081	55,225	188,917	345,743	339,632	512,317
Total Receipts	237,801	307,468	393,797	825,442	823,522	304,512	422,493	448,973	619,271	821,624
DISBURSEMENTS.										
Paid on several Accounts	2,530	3,462	2,419	3,730	..	1,810	1,415	200	2,299	30,474
Bond Debt discharged in the Year	..	..	..	31,367	8,133	..	..	..	..	..
Losses on Europe Goods, Interest, &c.	8,357	3,634	8,331	15,236	7,014	3,933	10,440	9,466	6,708	24,408
Remittances to other Settlements	4,383	742	2,102	1,051	483	986	769	782	709	743
Cargoes sent to Europe	243,097	299,230	372,118	521,424	507,106	431,350	585,638	514,852	447,783	678,846
Factory Charges	13,262	16,411	21,004	23,524	21,533	14,387	18,986	22,030	22,780	31,578
Total Disbursements	271,629	323,479	405,974	596,332	544,269	452,466	617,248	547,330	480,279	766,049

Exchange: 1 dollar = 5*s.* 0*d.* @ 5*s.* 6*d.* 100 dollars = 72 taels.

2853.1

TABLE OF ENGLISH SHIPS WHICH TRADED TO CHINA FOR THE EAST INDIA COMPANIES, FROM 1635 TO 1753.

Year.	Ship.	Tons Build. meas.	Chinese Units.	Measurement. Basic.	Accretions.	Total.	Stock. Goods.	Silver.	Total.	Investment.
M. 1635	London (chartered to Portuguese)	..	..	..	..	R 8/8 1,400	..	..	..	..
C. 1637	Dragon, Sunne, Catherine	..	..	..	..	..	..	R 8/8 142,000	R 8/8 142,000	R 8/8 62,000
	Anne (pinnace)	Sold	at	Macao						
M. 1644	Hinde	..	..	..	..	3,500	..	..	..	..
M. 1664	Surat	..	..	..	..	2,926	..	..	9,573	..
M. 1673	Return	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
T. 1675	Flying Eagle	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
							Tls.	Tls.	Tls.	
A. 1677	Formosa	..	..	..	..	..	2,110	4,778	6,888	Tls. 13,499
A. 1681	Barnardiston	..	..	..	..	..	£10,450	£12,500	£22,950	
A. 1682	Kent	130								Unable to trade at Amoy, went to Macao; driven thence went to Surat.
A. ,,	Oaklander	150								
A. ,,	Chyna Merchant	170	..	..	..	..	£14,599	£28,000	£42,599	
A. ,,	Amoy Merchant	310								
M. 1683	Carolina	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
A. 1684	Delight	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
A. 1685	China Merchant	170	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
A. 1687	Loyal Merchant	..	..	..	..	..	..	£5,500	..	..

A. = Amoy; C. = Canton; Ch. = Chusan; M. = Macao; T. = Taiwan. R 8/8 = Reals of Eight (later called Dollar).

X 2

Year.	Ship.	Tons Build. meas.	Chinese Units.	Measurement. Basic.	Accretions.	Total.	Stock. Goods.	Silver.	Total.	Investment.
				Tls.	Tls.	Tls.	£	£	£	Tls.
A. 1687	London	..	..	750	361	1,111	..	..	..	..
A. ,,	Worcester	..	..	400	193	593	..	..	..	..
M. 1689	Defence	730	221	1,500	300	1,800	..	..	..	..
A. 1694	Dorothy	200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
A. 1698	Nassau	400	..	..	..	..	25,000	20,000	45,000	..
A. ,,	Trumball	250	..	..	..	..	..	..	20,000	..
A. 1699	Fleet	280	..	..	..	..	..	..	37,554	..
C. 1699 / Ch. 1700	Macclesfield (galley)	250	125	480	89	569	5,475	26,611	32,086	45,928 at Canton
C. ,,	Wentworth	350	..	..	..	..	..	..	38,080	..
A. ,,	Dorrill	250	..	..	..	..	..	..	38,126	..
Ch. ,,	Eaton	310	..	..	..	400	..	..	..	87,196
Ch. 1701	Trumball	250	..	..	..	300	..	..	..	72,872
Ch. ,,	Sarah	275	..	..	..	..	..	..	50,611	9,326 (?)
A. ,,	China Merchant	170	..	..	..	..	..	..	20,923	32,473
A. ,,	Neptune	275	..	..	..	..	..	..	36,486	..
C. ,,	Seaford	240	..	..	..	..	..	..	31,203	..
C. ,,	Rising Sun	140	..	..	..	..	..	..	15,673	..
Ch. 1702	Macclesfield	250	..	..	..	..	..	..	35,936	
Ch. ,,	Union	208	..	..	..	..	..	..	29,744	230,000
Ch. ,,	Robert and Nathaniel	230	..	..	..	..	..	..	35,640	
A. ,,	Chambers	350	..	..	..	..	Tls.	Tls.	Tls.	101,507
A. ,,	Aurungzebe	425	..	1,250	856	2,106	73,657	150,000	223,657	122,150
A. ,,	Canterbury	333	..	..	..	..	..	..	£34,423	85,500
C. ,,	Fleet	270	..	1,300	1,900	3,200	..	..	..	55,000
Ch. 1703	Union	..	..	..	..	..	..	£20,000	..	..
Ch. ,,	Samuel and Anna	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16,165
Ch. ,,	Liampo	160	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	44,024
Ch. ,,	Robert and Nathaniel	230	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	118,259

C.											
	,,	Halifax	350	..	..	..	..	..	30,000	..	..
A.	1704	Catherine	495	..	..	..	2,850	3,770	15,071	18,841	52,886
A.	,,	Mountague	400	..	..	..	..	..	..	16,504	33,800
Ch.	,,	Northumberland	250	..	..	..	..	..	..	16,345	35,000
C.	,,	Sydney	450	..	..	..	..	..	..	20,195	..
C.	,,	Stretham	350	..	650	217	867	..	..	..	..
C.	,,	Kent	350	..	650	220	870	4,966	46,484	51,450	127,000
C.	,,	Eaton	310	..	650	217	867	..	..	..	..
Ch.	1707	Stringer	250	..	..	..	..	2,781	21,000	23,781	..
C.	,,	Kent	350	..	..	..	..	2,680	43,000	45,680	..
C.	1708	Todington	220	..	..	..	..	..	..	36,290	..
C.	1709	Loyal Cooke	330	..	..	..	..	2,635	31,000	33,635	..
Ch.	1710	Rochester	330	..	..	..	..	..	..	35,260	..
C.	1711	Howland	400	..	..	..	..	..	..	48,026	..
C.	,,	Hester	250	..	..	..	..	..	..	32,486	..
C.	1712	Herne	350	..	..	..	..	..	..	35,924	..
C.	,,	Stretham	350	..	..	..	..	..	..	46,568	..
C.	1713	Loyal Blisse	350	..	..	..	..	..	..	34,322	..
C.	1714	Hester	250	..	..	..	..	..	..	19,916	..
C.	1715	Dartmouth	450	..	..	..	..	..	..	52,069	..
C.	1716	Marlborough	480	..	..	..	..	..	..	44,884	..
C.	,,	Susanna	300	..	..	..	..	..	..	22,738	54,000
C.	,,	Stringer	280	..	..	..	..	..	..	21,545	..
C.	1717	Essex	300	..	..	..	..	3,212	33,000	36,212	..
C.	,,	Townshend	370	..	..	..	..	3,440	35,000	38,440	..
C.	1718	Carnarvon	350	..	..	..	..	2,796	28,000	30,796	..
C.	,,	Hartford	290	..	..	..	..	2,482	28,000	30,482	..
C.	1719	Sunderland	350	..	..	..	..	2,688	31,000	33,688	..
C.	,,	Essex	300	..	..	..	..	2,923	31,000	33,923	..
C.	1720	Carnarvon	370	..	..	..	..	3,322	33,000	36,322	..
C.	,,	Sarum	370	..	..	..	..	3,351	34,000	37,351	..
C.	,,	Mountague	380	..	..	..	..	3,638	33,000	36,638	..
C.	,,	Bridgewater	360	..	..	..	..	3,635	32,000	35,635	..
C.	1721	Morice	380	..	..	..	..	1,813	44,000	45,813	65,526
C.	,,	Frances	390	..	..	..	..	1,399	25,000	26,399	∞ 2,907

Year.	Ship.	Tons Build. meas.	Chinese Units.	Measurement. Basic. Tls.	Measurement. Accretions. Tls.	Measurement. Total. Tls.	Stock. Goods. £	Stock. Silver. £	Stock. Total. £	Investment. Tls.
C. 1721	Macclesfield	450	..	..	..	..	1,493	20,000	21,493	85,487
C. ,,	Cadogan	450	..	..	..	..	1,771	20,000	21,771	92,843
C. 1722	Eyles	480	172	..	..	3,050	3,477	35,000	38,477	44,750
C. ,,	Lyell	460	161	..	..	2,950	3,455	35,000	38,455	122,040
C. ,,	Princess Emilia	350	129	..	..	2,450	2,009	26,000	28,009	110,841
C. 1723	Walpole (1st-rate)	490	183	..	..	1,800	2,888	34,000	36,888	102,576
C. ,,	Duke of Cambridge	430	147	..	..	..	..	..	36,133	36,000
C. ,,	Hartford (2nd-rate)	440	159	..	..	..	..	..	33,223	
C. ,,	Princess Ann (3rd-rate)	380	137	..	..	..	..	..	28,911	271,340
C. ,,	Mountague	380	145	..	..	..	..	..	31,707	
C. 1724	Macclesfield	450	177	..	..	2,962	..	..	50,369	175,000
C. 1725	Princess Emilia	350	..	..	..	..	..	9,903	9,903	..
C. ,,	Caesar	430	..	..	..	..	..	35,310	35,310	210,000
C. ,,	Houghton	450	..	..	..	..	..	35,369	35,369	
C. 1726	Townshend	370	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	142,393
C. 1727	Prince Augustus (1st-rate)	495	178	1,320	1,950	3,270	..	..	..	162,501
C. 1728	Macclesfield (2nd-rate)	450	155	1,059	1,950	3,009	..	..		
C. ,,	Caesar (2nd-rate)	430	158	1,081	1,950	3,031	..	..		
C. ,,	Sunderland (2nd-rate)	410	145	992	1,950	2,942	..	..	100,148	..
C. ,,	Harrison (2nd-rate)	460	160	1,094	1,950	3,044	..	..		
C. 1729	Houghton	460	160	..	..	..			41,104	
C. ,,	Monmouth	490	172	..	..	..			41,107	
C. ,,	Enfield	470	161	..	..	..	4,317	160,000	41,064	420,000
C. ,,	Lynn	480	167	..	..	..			41,042	
C. 1730	Princess of Wales	460	167	1,142	1,950	3,092			50,740	
C. ,,	Lyell	470	160	1,098	1,950	3,048			49,622	
C. ,,	Devonshire	470	162	1,111	1,950	3,061	4,500	200,000	49,755	469,879
C. ,,	Prince Augustus	495	179	1,313	1,950	3,263			50,605	
C. ,,	King George (sloop)	200	91	437	1,000	1,437			..	19,067

C. 1731	Hartford	460	159	1,088	1,950	3,038	4,249	219,000	56,061	183,674
C. ,,	Macclesfield	450	158	1,081	1,950	3,031			55,032	181,172
C. ,,	Caesar	440	161	1,102	1,950	3,052			57,165	172,027
C. ,,	Harrison	460	162	1,108	1,950	3,058			55,253	184,252
C. 1732	Compton	440	159	..	..	..	933	42,000	42,933	82,850
C. ,,	Lynn	480	166	..	..	..	1,126	41,000	42,126	..
C. ,,	Wyndham	470	166	..	..	..	944	40,000	40,944	..
C. ,,	Richmond	460	177	..	..	..	888	40,000	40,888	..
C. 1733	Wyndham	470	166	..	..	..	10,000	35,000	45,000	143,176
C. ,,	Compton	440	159	..	..	..	10,000	35,000	45,000	150,849
C. 1734	Grafton (3rd-rate)	350	139	663	1,950	2,613	861	30,000	30,861	111,611
C. ,,	Harrison	460	149	1,111	1,950	3,061	2,125	50,000	52,125	184,680
C. 1735	London	495	183	1,361	1,950	3,311	856	48,000	48,856	..
C. ,,	Richmond	460	178	1,323	1,950	3,273	974	29,000	29,974	90,617
A. ,,	Houghton	460	156	1,163	1,950	3,113	..	..	29,964	..
Ch. 1736	Normanton	490	164	1,225	1,950	3,175	2,068	37,205	39,273	121,152
C. ,,	Walpole	495	..	..	..	..	..	..	39,622	..
C. ,,	Princess of Wales	470	..	..	..	..	..	..	39,572	..
C. ,,	Richmond	460	175	1,304	1,950	3,254	11,200	28,800	40,000	..
1737	Harrison	460	157	1,175	1,950	3,125	..	..	44,874	..
,,	Sussex	490	..	..	1,950	6,671	..	..	50,273	..
,,	Winchester	490	179	..	1,950					
,,	Royal Guardian	480	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	31,488
1738	Princess Royal	490	165	..	..	..	1,120	40,000	41,120	..
,,	London (1st-rate)	495	173	1,289	1,950	3,239	784	70,000	70,784	..
,,	Prince of Orange	480	158	..	..	..	1,221	42,000	43,221	..
,,	Prince of Wales (1st-rate)	495	173	1,288	1,950	3,238	704	10,000	10,704	..
,,	Godolphin	480	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1739	Houghton	495	174	2,927	1,950	6,827	..	..	38,926	..
,,	Walpole	495	179		1,950		..	..	25,457	..
,,	Harrington	490	169	1,314	1,950	3,264	..	..	Rs. 240,000	..
,,	Augusta (1st-rate)	495	178	1,324	1,950	3,274	..	..	£ 43,484	..

Year.	Ship.	Tons Build. meas.	Measurement. Chinese Units.	Basic. Tls.	Accretions. Tls.	Total. Tls.	Stock. Goods. £	Silver. £	Total. £	Investment. Tls.
1739	Duke of Lorraine	495	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1740	Winchester	495	190	..	..	..	..	..	35,541	..
,,	Princess Emilia	495	177	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1741	Royal Guardian	480	Sent back from Bombay							
,,	Duke of Dorset (2nd-rate)	460	161	1,101	1,950	3,051	..	..	..	..
,,	Princess Mary	498	..	..	..	..	..	..	35,160	..
,,	York	498	179	1,336	1,950	3,286	..	..	33,148	..
,,	Godolphin	480	..	..	..	..	..	..	30,000	..
,,	Northampton	498	..	..	..	..	..	..	33,192	..
1742	Onslow (1st-rate)	490	169	1,316	1,950	3,266	..	..	..	..
,,	Defence (2nd-rate)	485	157	1,122	1,950	3,072	..	..	..	..
,,	Augusta	498	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,,	Princess Mary	498	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1743	Hastingfield	498	..	..	..	..	..	..	45,392	..
,,	Harrington	490	..	..	..	..	..	..	25,000	..
1744	Hardwicke	498	Lascoe Hide, Chief			..	..	..	30,480	..
,,	York	498	Richard Oliver, Chief			..	..	..	..	..
,,	Stafford	498	John Misenor, Chief			..	..	..	..	..
1745	Northampton	498	Wm. Fred'k Boscawen, Chief				..	..	32,767	..
,,	London	498	Fred'k Pigou, Chief			..	..	..	34,650	..
,,	Augusta	498	Augustus Townshend, Chief			..	..	..	37,092	..
1746	Onslow	490	..	..	..	..	..	..	19,223	..
,,	Shaftesbury	498				..	..	..	31,204	..
,,	Sandwich	498				..	..	..	30,864	..
,,	Tavistock	498	Thomas Liell, Chief			..	..	..,	28,310	..
,,	Prince Edward	498				..	..	..	..	..
,,	Walpole	498	Fred'k Pigou, Chief			..	..	..	..	..
1747	St. George	498	John Misenor, Chief			..	2,469	35,000	37,469	..
,,	Stafford	498				..	2,390	35,000	37,390	..

,,	York	498	Henry Hadley, Chief			..	2,336	35,000	37,336	..
,,	Prince of Wales	498	Sam'l Harrison, Chief			..	2,527	35,000	37,527	..
,,	Lynn	498	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,,	Exeter	498	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,,	Bombay Castle	498	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,,	Princess of Wales	498	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,,	Princess Emilia	498	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1748	Hardwicke	498	Lascoe Hide, Chief			..	..	..	..	..
,,	Duke of Dorset	460				..	..	..	..	..
,,	Scarborough	498	Fred'k Pigou, Chief			..	..	..	..	..
,,	Wager	498				..	..	..	..	..
,,	Four others from Fort St. David									
1749	Sandwich	499	Thomas Liell, Chief			..	615	30,000	30,615	..
,,	Augusta	498				..	..	..	..	..
,,	Montfort	499	Henry Hadley, Chief			..	2,454	28,000	30,454	..
,,	Griffin	499				..	..	..	..	..
,,	Several others from Indian Settlements									
1750	Portfield	400	Mordecai Walker, Chief			..	..	16,000	16,000	..
,,	Duke of Cumberland	499	(Wrecked at Cape de Verde)					..	48,000	..
,,	Prince Edward	499	194	1,444	1,950	3,394	John Misenor, Chief			
,,	Stafford	498	..	..	..	..				
,,	Grantham	499	188	1,401	1,950	3,351	Henry Palmer, Chief			
,,	York	498	180	1,341	1,950	3,291				
,,	True Briton	400	Misenor and Palmer							
,,	Several others from Indian Settlements									
1751	Lord Anson	499	198	1,471	1,950	3,421	12,650	18,600	31,250	..
			Lascoe Hide, Chief							
,,	St. George	499	185	1,379	1,950	3,329	1,508	29,000	30,508	..
,,	Essex	498	182	1,354	1,950	3,304	3,588	29,000	32,588	..
			Sam'l Harrison, Chief							
,,	Caesar	498	175	1,305	1,950	3,255	3,063	30,000	33,063	..
,,	Triton	499	Thos. Thomson, Chief			..	2,683	31,000	33,683	..
,,	Five others from Indian Settlements									
1753	Royal Duke	..	Thos. Liell, Chief							
,,	Five other ships									

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